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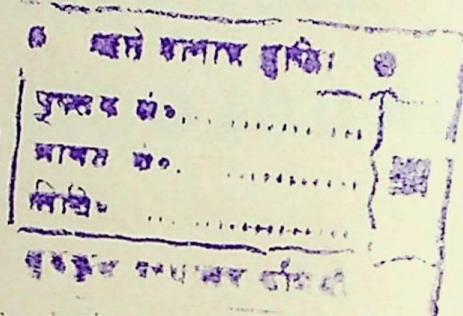
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## VEDIC TEXTUO-LINGUISTIC STUDIES

By

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### 7. *RV* I, 41, 7-9 : A NEW EXEGETICAL APPROACH<sup>1</sup>

The hymn, *RV* I, 41, which is attributed to Kaṇva, son of Ghora, consists of nine verses, divisible into three *ṛcas*, all in the *gāyatrī* measure. The corresponding section of the related *Anukramanī* describes this hymn as follows : यं रक्षन्ति नव, वरुणमित्रार्यमणां मध्ये तृच आदित्येभ्यो, गायत्रं हि. The deo-technical portion of this description finds complete agreement in *Bṛhaddevatā*, यं रक्षन्ति त्रयस्तुचाः, वरुणार्यम-मित्राणां, मध्य आदित्य-दैवतः (III, 107-8). Thus, both these ancient pantheographical texts point out that while the three verses in the beginning and the three verses at the end pertain to or are in praise of the Gods, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman, the three verses in the middle are addressed to the Gods, Ādityas, in general. This, however, may be a distinction without a difference, for, the Ādityas as invoked here, in the verses 4-6, are just the same as have been invoked in the preceding verses of this hymn, namely, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman. The word Ādityas here, like the word *rājānah* in the verse 3, is to be taken as an epithet of the same three Gods without containing any reference to the remaining members of the divine group of Ādityas, namely, Bhaga, Dakṣa, Amṛta, Sūrya and Savitṛ. Moreover, if the poet had really meant to extend, in the middle *ṛca*, his invocation to all the eight Ādityas, in general, there was no reason for him to delimit, once again, his invocation to the aforesaid three Ādityas by specifying Them alone, as if by a frog-leap (*maṇḍuka-pluti-*), in the verse 7. Indeed, on purely pantheographical (*daivata-*) grounds, the verse 9 might well have merited a separate treatment in as much

1. The present paper is a revised form of the author's paper entitled 'The *Rgveda* *Ṛca* (*RV* I, 41, 7-9) Re-interpreted' which was originally presented to and read at the 16th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lucknow in 1951 and, later on, published as No. IX (i), 1952, of the *Research Bulletin (Arts)* of the University of Panjab.

as its subject is neither an invocation of the three said Gods, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman, nor is it connected, directly, with the said invocation, but is, on the other hand, a general maxim inculcating the great need of shunning, at all costs, association with those who indulged in blasphemy. For, it was only then that an invocation could be considered as pure and sincere enough towards being accepted by the Gods. As rightly noted by the *Anukramanī* and the *Bṛhaddevatā*, the verses 4-6, however, do constitute a self-contained unit, contributing a single theme. Considering from this point of view, the purely mechanical character of the *Adhyāya-Varga-Anuvāka* division of *RV* is thrown into bold relief in that the verses 5 and 6, which, even grammatically, must go together, have been put in separate *Anuvākas* 22 and 23.

As clearly and fully expressed by the poet Kaṇva in the verses 1-6 of this hymn, he has implicit faith in the greatness of the Gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa and, also, in the unfailing favours that They bestow upon Their sincere devotees, thereby making them happy and prosperous as well as unassailable by Their force. Full of faith as he himself is, he invites, in the verse 7, the other brother-poets (*sakhāyah*), mentally visualizing them as if they were sitting beside him, to join him in determining how best they should sing in praise of the said three Gods so that they could succeed in pleasing Them the most. As if to announce, immediately, the decision arrived at by the poet in the said conference with his companions, the verse 8 presents him as expressly assuring the said Gods that he always remained intent on acting upto what, he thought, They wanted him to do, namely, that he should always associate himself with Their true devotees and never with those who cursed and reviled Them. The verse 9 just supports the stand, taken by poet in v. 8, by enunciating the same as a general precept. What now follows is a verse-wise translation of and a commentary on these three verses.

### Verse 7

( *Text* )

कथा राधाम सखायः  
स्तोमं मित्रस्याऽर्थम् ।  
मुहि प्सुरो वृरुणस्य ॥

## (Translation)

How, O comrades ! may we sing  
 A song of praise and worship of  
 Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman ?

## (Commentary)

a. *kathā* 'in what way', is an interrogatory pronominal adverb being a variant of *kathām*. It has been derived as *kim* + *thā* (Pā. V, 3, 26). The suffix *-thā* is used here to indicate 'way, manner (*prakāra*)' and not 'reason (*hetu*)', as Dayānanda thought, alternately, that it did. Apparently, the poet, as he thinks of and tries to visualize the majestic grandeur of the three Gods Whom he is worshipping, becomes emotionally overwhelmed with a feeling of wonderment so much so that he begins to feel diffident of his being able to please the Gods, sufficiently, with his ordinary prayers and imagining, as if in reverie, that he is surrounded by his fellow-bards, aquaints them, so to say, with this predicament of his. This interrogatory pronominal adverb *kathā* is found used in quite a number of other *ṛcas* also, heading spirited expressions indicative of similar emotionally exhilarated situation of the respective poets (cf., RV I, 77, 1; 120, 1; IV, 23, 1; 3; 4; V, 41, 11; 16; VIII, 70, 13; 86, 2; X, 28, 5; 64, 1; 4).

The sense of 'singing (hymns of), praising (with hymns), praising' as attributed above to  $\sqrt{rādh}$  in the modal verb *rādhāma* is amply indicated by its parallel usage elsewhere in RV; cf., *ārādhi hótā svār níṣattāḥ* (I, 70, 4), *kā rādhat hótrā aśvinā vām* (I, 120, 1), *kathā rādhāma śarāsyā úpastutim* (VIII, 70, 3), *ārādhi hótā niṣádā yájīyān* (X, 53, 2), *kó (\* = kam) vah stómām rādhati yám jújoṣatha* (X, 63, 6). In all these places, the transitive  $\sqrt{rādh}$  has generally been taken so far in its Pāṇinian sense of 'effecting, perfecting (*samsiddhi*)', (cf., Pā. Dhā. V, 16). But, evidently, this previously recognised sense of  $\sqrt{rādh}$  becomes, when contextually considered, indifferentiable from that of 'singing', if used in the active voice, and 'being sung (of)', if used in the passive voice. Indeed, otherwise, the action, as ordinarily understood, of effecting or perfecting (*samsiddhi*), when governing, as its object, a word denoting 'song', would rather refer to its pre-utterence 'composition' than to its post-composition 'utterance' which alone, however, is

required to be conveyed and understood by the context. It is commonplace with those conversant with the Pāṇinian grammar that the attribution of meanings to the various roots as recorded in the *Dhātupāṭha* is rather elliptical or merely illustrative (*upalakṣaṇārtha*-) and, as such, has to be taken in a generic way towards making it comprehensive enough to include such other unrecorded meanings as might be contextually warranted. Thus, like  $\sqrt{rādh}$  in the present context, a number of other similarly homonymic roots as well are observed, contextually, as having been used in *RV* in the sense of 'singing (hymns of), praising (with hymns), praising' (e.g., cf.,  $\sqrt{īr}$ , VIII, 3, 15; 43, 1;  $\sqrt{rādh}$ , V, 60, 1; X, 106, 11;  $\sqrt{kṛ}$ , I, 39, 9; 184, 5; III, 54, 14; VIII, 36, 6;  $\sqrt{kra(n)d}$ , VII, 20, 9;  $\sqrt{gā}$ , I, 2, 3;  $\sqrt{jan}$ , I, 109, 2; VII, 15, 4; VIII, 12, 14; X, 23, 6;  $\sqrt{jīr}$ , VII, 68, 9; 72, 4; VIII, 2, 16; (cf., *jārāte*, *Nigh.* III, 14; *jaritā*, *Nigh.* III, 16);  $\sqrt{dāś}$ , I, 77, 1;  $\sqrt{dha}$ , I, 171, 2; 183, 6; V, 41, 2; VI, 38, 3; VII, 24, 5; 34, 4; 38, 3;  $\sqrt{dhī}$ , II, 11, 12; V, 82, 6;  $\sqrt{bhṛ}$ , I, 126, 1; VIII, 100, 3; X, 42, 1;  $\sqrt{man}$ , V, 13, 2; 35, 8;  $\sqrt{vidh}$ , II, 9, 3.

This contextual warrant for the use of these and other similarly situated roots in the said sense gets firmly established by the conclusive evidence of the usage, in *RV*, of those roots, which have been expressly given, in the *Dhātupāṭha*, the sense of 'praising, saying (*stuti*-)', with words denoting 'praise, hymn', governing the latter as their objects (*karmas*) or instruments (*karaṇas*); e.g., cf.,  $\sqrt{arc}$ , I, 10, 1; 62, 1; 166, 7; V, 30, 6; VIII, 92, 9;  $\sqrt{grī}$ , I, 79, 12; II, 43, 1; III, 58, 1; VIII, 15, 9; X, 29, 1;  $\sqrt{gai}$ , I, 10, 1; II, 43, 2; VI, 69, 2; VII, 92, 25; X, 71, 11;  $\sqrt{nī}$ , VI, 38, 3; VIII, 8, 12; 88, 1;  $\sqrt{pan}$ , I, 87, 3; IV, 33, 5; VII, 1, 10; X, 104, 7;  $\sqrt{bru}$ , III, 54, 10;  $\sqrt{ru}$ , I, 10, 4;  $\sqrt{vac}$ , V, 1, 12;  $\sqrt{vand}$ , I, 73, 12;  $\sqrt{vṛt}$ , I, 138, 4;  $\sqrt{vṛdh}$ , V, 29, 11; VI, 38, 3; X, 93, 12;  $\sqrt{sāṁs}$ , 1, 8, 10; II, 43, 2; IV, 3, 3; 4, 15; VI, 23, 1; 69, 2-3; X, 143, 3;  $\sqrt{śru}$ , I, 139, 3;  $\sqrt{stu}$ , I, 62, 1; 92, 7; X, 22, 2;  $\sqrt{stuh}$ , VIII, 92, 19;  $\sqrt{svṛ}$ , I, 10, 4; V, 54, 12; VIII, 33, 2; ( $\sqrt{hve}$ ) *hu*, VII, 73, 1; VIII, 26, 16; 76, 5.

Etymologically, this  $\sqrt{rādh}$  has developed from the proto-linguistic  $\sqrt{bhṛdh}$  'say, speak, sing (*vacana*-, *stuti*-)', the process involved being  $*bhṛdh-bhṛdh > *bhradh-bhradh > (*hra>)ra(dh>d>)r-(*hra>)radh > *rarradh>*rāradh>(*rāadh>)  $\sqrt{rādh}$$ . As such, it has to be included in the pretty extensive list of more or less similarly developed vocabulary, radical as well as derivative, as already given in our 'Vedic textuo-

-linguistic studies, 4, VIJ V (1967) 13-24, fnn. 10 and 64. This *vrādh* may be the real radical in the words *ā-rādhana-* 'praise' or 'glorification', *Rādhā-* of Bhāgavata fame, possibly, a 'Personification of Worship' and *rādhas-* in *satyārādhas-* 'whose worship is true (fruitful), and a cognate of *√\*rār* as in (*ā√rār*) *ārārtika-* > *ārārti-* > *āra(ti)tī-* 'worship' (NIA) as well as of *√rāj* as in (*\*nir√rāj*) *nīrājanā-* 'id.' *sakhāyah* (voc. pl.) 'friends', evidently refers to the poet's colleagues in the work of singing hymns (cf., RV VIII, 70, 13 : सुखायः क्रुमिच्छत्, कथा राधाम शरुस्य । उपस्तुतिं..... ॥ where another poet seems to put, in the mouth of his colleagues, a similar question regarding their joint glorification of their patron, Śarā). Dayānanda alone has taken this word as a nominative form, obviously, not noticing its grave accent.

b, c. The translation takes the whole verse to be one simple sentence, the word *psāras* 'hymn' qualified by the adjectives *stóma-* 'praiseful' and *máhi-* 'worshipful', being the object of the verb *rādhāma*. Skanda, the earliest available scholiast, has likewise construed the whole verse as a simple sentence, but has made the word *stóma-*, in its usually accepted nominal sense of 'praise', the object of the verb *rādhāma*, taking the words *máhi-* and *psāras-*, in the sense of 'great' and 'beautiful', respectively, as adjectives qualifying the noun *stóma-*. His relevant comment reads as follows : 'कथा राधाम ... संसाधयेम ... स्तोमं पित्रस्य अर्यमः वरुणस्य च । कीदृशम् । महि महान्तम् प्सरः रूपतामैतत् सामर्थ्यचिच्चात्रान्तर्णीतमत्वर्थम् । रूपवन्तम् अत्यन्तशोभनमित्यर्थः'<sup>2</sup> । Evidently, he had to take too much burden on himself in seeking to establish the impossible concord between his masculine noun *stóma-* 'praise', on the one hand, and his neuter adjectives *máhi-* 'great' and *psāras-* 'beautiful', on the other, more so in the case of the latter word, because he knew that it was a neuter substantive and meant 'beauty (*rūpa-*)'.

Apparently, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava felt the difficulty of the situation and the futility of the attempt of Skanda to overcome it. Therefore, he took another course by splitting up the construction of the verse into two independent simple sentences, the first comprising the *pādas a* and *b* and the second presuming a repetition of *pāda a* towards its being read, a second time,

2. cf., Vishva Bandhu, *Rgveda with Commentaries*, vols., I-VIII (V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur, 1963-66).

with the *pāda c.* This course, comparatively less exceptionable though, could not be passed as quite smooth. For, it would make it necessary to connect the verb *rādhāma*, as rendered by him, with two different roots, namely, with the Pāṇinian *✓rādh* 'effect, perfect (*sāmsiddhi*)', (*Pā. Dhā. V, 16*) for his first sentence (*cf.*, his rendering *rādhayāmāḥ*) and with the non-Pāṇinian *✓rādh* 'praise', for his second sentence (*cf.*, his rendering *stumāḥ*). To say the least, the proposed construction looks most improbable, because it attributes, without rhyme or reason, two different meanings to one and the same verb in its single occurrence and, further, delimits the resulting two different predication namely, 'effecting' and 'praising', separately to a 'song (*stóma*)' and to the 'great beauty (*máhi psáras*)', respectively, the former relating to the Gods Mitra and Aryaman only and the latter to the God Varuṇa alone. Of course, we could not take any exception to his crediting *✓rādh* with the non-Pāṇinian meaning of 'praising (*stuti*)', because we ourselves have adopted the same, purely on contextual and proto-linguistic etymological grounds in our above translation.

Sāyaṇa positively improved the situation by, first, elliptically treating the phrase *máhi psásah* as a subordinate clause and, then, construing the rest of the verse as a principal clause (*cf.*, his comment: ... मित्रादीनां त्रयाणां, महि महत्, स्त्रो रूपम् । अतस्तदनुरूपं, स्तोमं स्तोत्रं, कथा केन प्रकारेण, राधाम साध्यामः (sic °म) <sup>3</sup>). Plausible as this construction sounds it suffers from its having to read too much from outside, for, otherwise, the two words *máhi* and *psárah* would be left out unconnected. Indeed, in case the poet had intended this, he, in keeping with the usual Vedic mode of expression, might have read the *pāda c* as वृ॒रु॒स्य दे॒वानां हि॒ मु॒हि॒ प्स॒रः, making the verse an *uṣṇik* (*cf.*, for an exact parallel, *RV* VIII, 70, 13, where the *jagati pāda c*, उ॒पस्तु॒ति॒ भोजः॒ सूर्णि॒यो॒ अ॒हयः॒, similarly raises an *uṣṇik* structure on a *gāyatrī* ground).

3. The Poona edition unfortunately follows the old Bombay edition and Max Muller's edition in retaining the wrong reading here. That Sāyaṇa's correct reading here was the imperative form °म is supported by its right record in his comment on *RV* VIII, 70, 13 where this paraphrase is found repeated. Also, compare his paraphrase प्राप्नोतु for the word नशत् in *RV* I, 41, 5 for an indication of his general method of equating Vedic लेट् forms with his own लोट् forms.

Dayānanda's construction, again, worsens the position. For he concorded, as Skanda had already done, the neuter adjective *máhi* with the masculine noun *stóma-* and followed *Sāyaṇa*, though in part only, in relegating *psárah*, to an unwarranted ellipsis. Moreover, it seems that he understood the word *psárah* as nom. sing. of the masculine stem \**psára* as is indicated by his having paraphrased it as *sukha-bhogah*.

Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner have taken the whole verse as one simple sentence, understanding *psárah* in the sense of 'refreshment', 'food' and 'delight', respectively, but have not succeeded in removing the rather disjointed look of the *pāda c*. For, it is not clear why the poet should have different offerings for the Gods, namely, a 'hymn (*stóma-*)' for Mitra and Aryaman and 'food' or 'delight (*psáras*)' for Varuṇa. Or, is it intended that the hymn (*stóma-*) itself, in being separately offered to Varuṇa has been figuratively described as the 'food' or 'delight' for Him? Even so, it would read better if the hymn in question were addressed, jointly, to all [the three Gods and, as such, likened to the well-dressed 'food' or 'delight' for all of Them alike. It is, however, to be pointed out that if this represented the real idea of the poet, he would rather have fashioned his *pāda c* somewhat like वरुणस्य यो (= स्तोमः) हि तेषां (or एषां) मुहि प्सरः ।

Thus, it appears that the efforts made so far to iron out a smooth construction of the present verse have not fared well. This has been so, only because the neuter noun *psáras-*, when taken in the senses which have been attributed to it so far, gave rise to various syntactically clumsy constructions or, even when made, as done by Skanda, to function as an adjective, could not properly concord, while retaining its neuter form *psárah* unchanged, with the masculine noun *stóma-*. Our above translation seeks to overcome these difficulties, partly, by taking the neuter noun *psáras-* in the sense of 'hymn, song' and, partly, by taking *stómam* '\*praiseful'<sup>4</sup> as an adjective qualifying *psárah*. We have taken our cue, in this matter, from the presence of the other contiguous word, to wit, *máhi* which, as universally taken, is a

4. The word *stóma-*, whether it finds its use, as it generally does, as a noun in the sense of 'praise (*stotra-*)' or as an adjective, as construed by us hereinabove, in the sense of 'praiseful', its etymology, namely, 'that with which praising is done (*stūyate'nena*)' remains identical, its said respective use depending, entirely, on convention leading to fixation in the course of time.

sure adjective. This word has generally been equated with the word *máhat-* in the sense of 'great, profuse', but we have preferred to interpret it as 'worshipful', being more consonant with our rendering of *psáras* as 'hymn, song'. As such, towards its derivation, it is to be traced to  $\sqrt{m}ah$  'worship (*pūjā-*)', (cf., *Pā. Dhā.* I, 731; X, 335; *Nigh.* III, 14). As *Pā. Dhā.* has correctly done, the concept of 'worship (*pūjā-*)' should be kept distinct from those of 'increase (*vṛddhi-*)' (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 635) and 'fullness (*āpyāyana-*)', (*Pā. Dhā.* X, 267) which it has respectively ascribed, conjugation-wise, to  $\sqrt{m}ayñh$  and all these basically distinct concepts should not be huddled together, in a confused mass, under  $\sqrt{m}ah$  as has been done by *PW* and the later works based on the same.

According to *PW*, *psáras-* is included in the *Nighantu* list (III, 7) of words meaning 'splendour' or 'manifestation (*rūpa-*)'. This inclusion, since rejected, in favour of the variant reading *marūt-* by the several later editors of that text, is, however, supported by Devarāja and one of the basic manuscripts of L. Sarup's edition, (Panjab University, Lahore, 1927). Besides, it has on it the stamp of hoary antiquity in that, as observed above, Skanda (compare his remark *rūpa-nāmaītat*) and, after him, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa have accepted it. This, however, can mean only this that the compiler of *Nighantu*, probably, did read *psáras-* in the sense of 'beauty (*rūpa-*)'. But following *PW*, the entire line of modern Western scholars seems agreed on rejecting this meaning and suggesting, in place of it, the meaning of 'eating', the word *psáras-*, according to them, being derived from  $\sqrt{psā}$  'eat (*bhakṣāna-*)', (*Pā. Dhā.* II, 45) and, obviously, not from  $\sqrt{psā}$  'move (*gati-*)', (*Nigh.* II, 14). The suggestion regarding the above meaning also appears, however, to have originated with the Indian scholiasts of yore who had surmised that *psáras-*, when read in relation to *sóma-*, meant 'drinkable', (see Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava on *RV* IX, 74, 3) and 'drinkable food' or 'drink' (see Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa on *RV* IX, 2, 2; 96, 3; 97, 27)<sup>5</sup>. They appear to have been inclined to derive the word from  $\sqrt{pā}$  'drink (*pāna-*)', (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 950), although, with full recognition that *sóma* was 'a drink' but, at the same time, 'a food (*āndhas-*)', too. In picking up the latter meaning as being the real one for every occurrence

5. It is a pity that Skanda is not yet available on this portion of *RV*. Probably, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and after him, Sāyaṇa, who has copied from him to a large extent, both owed this interpretation, too, to Skanda.

of the word, *PW* seems to have welcomed the handy evidence of the said  $\sqrt{psā}$  'eat (*bhakṣāṇa*-)'.

There are, however, a few occurrences of this word that clearly indicate that when it is used in the objective relation to  $\sqrt{vac}$  'speak', its proper sense is 'praise' or 'song of praise'. Thus, *RV* IX, 2, 2 reads :

आ वच्यस्व मुहि प्सरो  
वृषन्दो दुर्मुवत्तमः ।  
आ योनि धर्णसि: सदः ॥

Soma is being pressed and poured, in a hundred streams, in the vat below, producing a loud and charming sound. *Pāda a* refers to this sound as a great song (*psārah*) and urges Soma to sing it on ( $\bar{a}$  *vacyasva*).<sup>6</sup> This verse (*RV* IX, 2, 2), in asking

6. The test of interpretation of this and other similar texts, being cited hereafter, lies in hitting at the correct meaning of  $\sqrt{*vacyā}$  (cf., *vacyāte*, *RV* I, 142, 4 etc. for the determination of accent). *RV* IX, 97, 2 speaks of Soma as a great poet who is singing sweet songs (*mahān kavīr nivācanāni śāmsan*) and urges him to sing on (*vacyasva*). *RV* IX, 103, 10 asks Soma to pour forth his song ( $\bar{a}$  *vacyasva*) like a poet-singer (*stotr-, vāhnir nā*). It will be seen that *RV* is quite familiar with this meaning of the word *vāhni* (cf., III, 1, 3; 6, 2; 20, 1; V, 79, 4; VI, 39, 1; VII, 75, 5; 82, 4). The Vedic usage records a number of occurrences of  $\sqrt{*vacyā}$  where this radical lends itself to be suitably rendered only by being taken in the sense of 'speaking' or 'singing' (e.g., in *RV*, *iyām hī tvā matr māmācchā sujihva vacyāte*, I, 142 4; *kāravāh ... vacyāmānāh*, III, 6, 1; *vacyāntām te vāhnayāh saptā-jihvāh*, III, 6, 2; *indram matr hrīdā ā vacyāmānācchā pātīm stóma-taṣṭā jīgāti*, III, 39, 1; *máma ... stómāś caranti ... mānasā vacyāmānāh*, X, 47, 7; and in *AV*, *vacyasva rebha vacyasva*, XX, 127, 4. In all these cases, the textual and contextual position, reading the words *kavī-* 'poet-singer', *kārū-* 'id.' and *vāhni-* 'id.' as well as *matr-* 'hymn' and *stóma-* 'id.' in syntactical contiguity and determinative relationship with  $\sqrt{*vacyā}$ , clearly points to the need of the said  $\sqrt{*vacyā}$  being connected with  $\sqrt{vac}$  'speak' rather than with  $\sqrt{vāñc}$  'move' as Skanda (e.g., on *RV* I, 46, 3), Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa (e.g., on *RV* IX, 2, 2), Grassmann, Griffith and others, without adducing any justification, have done. Geldner (see *PG* I, 258f.) has also supported the latter view in an incidental discussion.  $\sqrt{*vacyā}$  is found used as an active transitive verb in most of its occurrences and

Soma to sing, should naturally be employing the word *psáras-* in the sense of 'song' that might be sung and not 'food' that could be taken in but not sung out. Moreover, as in the present case, if it meant 'food', the same could not lend itself to being sung by Soma, which was just a deific personification of that food itself. In fact, grammatically, a transitive construction like the present one could not permit the subject and the object to be distinct only in name, being otherwise, essentially identical.

Similarly, *RV* I, 75, 1, in addressing Agni, says :

जुप्स्व सप्रथस्तमं,  
वृचो देवप्सरस्तमम् ।  
हव्या जुह्वान आसनि ॥

Relish our most extensive hymn,  
Largest container of praise divine,<sup>7</sup>  
While taking oblations in Thy mouth.

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as an active intransitive verb in only a few of them. It could be explained as an alternative form of *vácas-* > *vvacasyá* (cf., *RV* I, 55, 4; IX, 99, 6 for similar use of *vvacasyá*, the latter occurrence, actually, speaking of Soma as 'one who is singing songs'), arrived at as follows: *vvacasyá* > *vvaaṣyá* > *\*vacyá*. As another alternative *\*vacyá* might be said to have denominatively developed from the nominal stem (*vvac-*) *\*vacyá-*, being, generally, an agent-formation and, rarely, an action-formation. As such, this nominal stem *\*vacyá* may have to be described, under the Pāṇinian structural scheme, as having been formed by adding the supplemental (*upasariṇkhyāta-*) *kṛt-* suffix *\*-yá* to *vvac* 'speak (*paribhāṣana*)', (*Pā. Dhā.* II, 53). Pāṇini has duly provided for a number of somewhat similar, though variously accented, noun-formations (cf., *Pā.* III, 4, 68 for the agent-formations, and III, 1, 107; 108 for the action-formations in question). In the circumstances, *\*vacyá* is not to be taken as a passive or reflexive verbal development either of *vvac* 'speak' or of *vvāñc* 'move'. Obviously, being an oxytone base, it is not connected with the fourth conjugation.

7. Quantitatively, however extensively verbose a hymn might be, its attraction for the Gods would be only in direct proportion to the qualitative measure of the heartiest and genuine-most praise which, when fully saturated with devotion, it could provide Them with. Therefore, the poet here, naturally, refers to the profuse presence in his hymn of this most essential element of it. The adjectival base *devá-psaras-* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound,

Etymologically,  $\sqrt{*psar}$  'praise, sing', which would, apparently, be postulated for the neuter action-noun *psáras-* 'hymn, song', is itself to be described as a composite root, constituted of two proto-radicals, to wit, (1)  $*bhṛṣ-$  'praiseful, sweet' and (2)  $*bhṛdh-$  'speech', the phonetic process involved being as follows: ( $*bhṛṣ- >$ )  $*prás-$  + ( $*bhṛdh- > *bhar >$ )  $*var- > *prásvar- >$

duly preserving the accent of its first member, *devá-*. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa, being familiar with only two meanings of *psáras-*, to wit, (1) 'a drink' or 'a drink-food' and (2) 'splendour, manifestation (*rūpa-*)', and seeing that the hymn (*vácaḥ*) in question consisting, as it did, of words (*vacanāni*) only, could in no wise be described as consisting of either a food for the Gods or the splendour belonging to Them, were, apparently, at their wit's end to interpret the said word in any satisfactory manner. Of these two scholiasts, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava dismissed, outright, the familiar meaning, namely, 'a God' of the word *devá-* and took the latter in the purely adjectival but unfamiliar sense of 'shining (*dīpta-*)', and made the same qualify his self-coined noun, *viz.*, *psa-* 'splendour, manifestation (*rūpa-*)'. joining, at the end, *-ra* as a possessive suffix and, to his utter disadvantage, totally forgot in this bargain, to account for the presence of *s* between his said suffix *-ra* and the superlative suffix *-tamap*. Sāyaṇa took the word *devá-psaras-* as an *upapada* compound with its second component, namely, *psáras-* as an agent noun, derived from *ṣpr* 'please, strengthen (*prīti-balayoh*)', fancifully changing the same in to *ṣpsr*, with the addition of the suffix *-asun*, forgetting that this suffix would form an action-noun rather than an agent-noun and, what was still worse, quite mindfully refusing to permit the actual *bahuvrīhi* accent of the word to stand in his way. It is not evident why Skanda, whom both of them had frequently followed at other places, was ignored by them here. But it was, certainly, to their own disadvantage, for, he had fared better, anyway, in paraphrasing the word as *dēvasya agneḥ rūpair atiśayena yuktam, aśeṣā(?atiśayenā)gnī-rūpa-prakāśanam*. He is so near the mark that one wishes that it had occurred to him that the meaning of *prakāśana-* 'description', which he felt like reading from outside, could be directly conveyed here by the word *psáras-* itself. PW and, after it, other modern scholars, inclined to take *psáras-* in the sense of 'food' have not explained how the word *devd-psaras-* with such renderings as Monier-Williams' 'serving the Gods as a food' and Griffith's 'food to the Gods' could be taken as an adjectival compound (*bahuvrīhi-*) and how, if it was not that compound, it had preserved the accent which indicated that said compound. Indeed, under their general interpretation, the word, in its relation to *vácas-* as in the present text and, also, in its relation to Soma as in the texts being noticed below, could not but be a *tatpurusa* compound and not a *bahuvrīhi* compound as, on the contrary, it actually is. For, *vácas-* 'hymn' might be a substitute of the Gods' real food, namely, Soma, but could not be 'that something else which could

\*pásvar-> \*pásar-> \*psár> √\*psar. The proto-radical \*bhṛṣ- 'praiseful, sweet' is traceable, through regular phonetic processes, in a very large number of available cognates of psáras- 'hymn, song', in Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European. What follows is just an illustrative enumeration of some of them, beginning with three groups as selected, in order, from *Nighantu* I, 11; III, 14; III, 16: akṣáram,<sup>8</sup> anuṣṭúp, īk, káśa, kākūt, gaṇáh, gabhīrā, gambhīrā, galda, gáthā, gāndharvī, gīh, galūh, gaurī, gaṇáh, ghóṣah, vagnūh, śáci, śábdah, sarah (rasah, rāsah), sárasvatī,<sup>9</sup> suparṇī, sūryā, svanāh, svárah, sváhā (*Nigh.* I,

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provide Them with Their food'. Similarly, Soma, being itself Their real food, could not be said to be 'that something else which gave Them Their food'. In sooth, it is the presence of the *bahuṛihi* compound itself that is a pointer to the really intended meaning, namely, 'praise' or 'a hymn of praise', of the neuter base *psáras-* when read in the context of *vāc* 'saying' or 'singing' to please some one.

8. Cf., *Nigh.* I, 11 where 57 Vedic words have been listed in the sense of 'vāc-'. As contextually evident, most of these vocables have been actually employed in the sense of 'song', of course, in praise of the Gods. It is on this easily verifiable basis that, as relevant to our present purpose, only twenty-six out of the said *Nighantu* list of 57 words have been included in the illustrative enumeration, in the text above, of the cognates of *psáras-* 'hymn, song'. The said 26 selected words are those which possess, as their initial sound or, when they begin with a labial (cf., *vagnūi*), as their second sound, some variant of the final sibilant in our afore-said postulate \*bhṛṣ- 'praiseful, sweet' from which, as per phonetic process shown in the text above, the initial conjunct sound 'ps-' itself had developed. The remaining thirty-one words which have been left out there from the said *Nighantu* list of the words meaning 'speech (vāc-)' are those which may be described as having been derived from a particular composite root, constituted of two proto-radicals, to wit, (1) \*bhṛdh- 'praiseful, sweet' (as against \*bhṛṣ- 'praiseful, sweet' as postulated above for the purposes of the aforesaid group of 26 words) and (2) \*bhṛdh 'speech'- or \*bhṛṣ- 'speech', as noticeable in certain cases, e.g., *vāc-* and *vāśi*. Practically, on similar grounds, sixteen verbs have been selected, for inclusion in the aforesaid illustrative list of cognates of *psáras-* 'hymn, song', out of the forty-four verbs in the sense of 'hymning, singing' as listed in *Nigh.* III, 14 and ten out of the thirteen words in the sense of a 'singer' as listed in *Nigh.* III, 16. It is understood that those cognates, in the said illustrative enumeration in the text above, which do not begin with a sound which could be taken either as a variant or a remnant of 'bhṛ' in our aforesaid postulate \*bhṛṣ- 'praiseful, sweet', have dropped the same in the course of their phonetic development.

9. The neuter noun *sáras-* 'hymn (vāc)' which, as recorded in *Nighantu* cited above, is found used independently as such and, also, as

11) ; *kṛpānyáti*, *kṛpāyáti*, *gāyati*, *gūrdháyatī*, *gṛṇāti*, *chadáyate*, *chándati*, *papṛksáḥ* (*pipṛksáḥ*), *pṛccháti*, *rásati*, *śámsati*, *sāsamānáḥ*, *sápati*, *stóbhati*, *staúti*, *svárati* (Nigh. III, 14) ; *kārūḥ*, *kīrīḥ*, *kṛpānyuh*, *gaúḥ*, *chándalāḥ*, *sūrīḥ*, *stāmlūḥ*, *stúp* (Nigh. III, 16) ; and including *pásuras*,<sup>10</sup> *√śams*, *√slāgh*, *śloka-*, *sáman-*, *√stu*, *svára-*, *svará-* (OIA) ; *sura-*, *surīlā-*, *√sr(l)āhnā* (NIA) : *√stāiddn*, *√srāīdan* (Pres.) ; *psalmus* (Lat.) ; *psalmos* (later Lat., Gk.) ; *salm*, *sealm* (OE) ; sing, song, psalm (E). As can be seen from the actual usage of these words, they denote either 'praising, singing' or 'praise, song' or 'praiser, singer' according to the context in which they are used.

As already indicated by us in a previous study,<sup>11</sup> the second proto-radical constituent of the aforesaid *√\*psar* 'praise, sing', namely, *\*bhṛdh-* 'speech', is represented by *√vṛdh* 'speak (*bhāṣāṇa-*)', (Pā. Dhā. X, 250) and has undergone, down the ages, phonetic modifications which, through all possible permutations and combinations, are practically countless.

In our above translation of the verse (RV I, 41, 7), which is being principally discussed here, we have treated the word *stóma-* as an adjective, in the sense of 'praiseful', qualifying the word *psáras* which has been taken as a noun in the sense of a 'song'. It is however, quite possible that, without materially affecting our find-

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the basic element in *sárasvatī*, is a further development of *psáras-* itself, the initial labial having just dropped in the phonetic process.

10. Cf. : स् वेद सुष्टुतीनाम् इन्दुर् न पूषा वृषा ।

भि प्सुरः प्रुषायति व्रजं न आ प्रुषायति ॥

(RV X, 25, 3)

wherein it is said about the God Pūṣan that (no sooner) He catches (*veda*) (the sound of) the hymns (in His praise, than) He rushes (*pruṣayati*) streaming forth (*vṛṣā*), so to say, like (*ná*) the *soma*-juice (*Induh*) (pouring down, in thousand streams, in the vat below, bountifully,) to reach (*abhi*, *ā*) (where His devotees are singing) their (*nah*) hymns (*psūrah*) and prayers (*vrajām*). The neuter noun *psáras-*, used here as accusative singular, is, like the word *psáras-* itself, a lineal descendant of the aforesaid *\*prásvar-*, in the text above, through *\*prásur-* (>*\*pásur* ->*\*psūr*-> *√\*psur*).

11. Vishva Bandhu, 'Vedic Textuo-Linguistic Studies, 4, VIJ 5 (1967) 1-24 ; see esp. pp. 21-22.

ings as embodied in the above discussions, the word *stóma-* may be allowed to be taken as a concrete noun in its usually available sense of a 'song' or 'hymn' and, towards fitting in with this contextual change, the word *psáras* be taken as an abstract noun in the sense of 'praise' instead of being taken, as done above, as a concrete noun in the sense of a 'song' or 'hymn'. In that case the two contiguous words, *máhi psárah* may be construed, together, as an adverbial adjunct to the verb *rādhāma* and their use in the neuter acc. sing. form may also be a pointer to their having to be construed as such. According to this view, the verse may be translated as under :

*How, friends, should we address our song  
To Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman,  
Towards performing pleasing praise of Them ?*

As will have been noticed, the adjective *máhi* has been rendered in this translation as 'pleasing'. It is to be connected, as such, with  $\surd{m}ah$  'please, delight' which is distinct from  $\surd{m}ah$  'worship ( *pūjā-* )', (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 731 ; X, 335) as well as from  $\surd{m}ah$  'vax, increase', the latter itself being related to but not identical with  $\surd{māñh}$  'increase, be full ( *vṛddhi-*, *āpyāyana-* )', (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 635 ; X, 267, respectively).<sup>12</sup> Itself a phonetic development of the proto-linguistic etymon \*bhṛdh- 'joy, delight', the said un-Pāñinian  $\surd{m}ah$  is related, through its verbal as well as nominal formations, to its numerous cognates in the Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European languages. Only some of these cognates, all of which, in common, reserve and express the said basic idea of 'joy, delight', whether as such or as conducive to that, may just illustratively be listed as follows : *jalāśām*, *bhadra-*, *bheṣajām*, *māṅgala-*, *máyas*,  $\surd{raj}$ ,  $\surd{rañj}$ ,  $\surd{ran}$ ,  $\surd{ram}$ , *rasa-*,  $\surd{ruc}$  (OIA) ; *melā-*, *mauja-*, *mauja-melā-* (NIA) ; *davā-*, *davīā-*, *phaiz-*, *mazā-*, *masa-*, *lazzata-*, *lazīza-*, *haza-* (Pers.) ; delectable, delight, feast,

12. As duly noticed and recorded by *PW*, *GW* and *MW*,  $\surd{m}ah$  'please, delight' finds its use, both in its verbal forms as well as in its derivative nominal forms, at various places in the Vedic texts (e.g., *RV* I, 165, 13 ; II, 17, 7 ; III, 24, 4 ; 52, 6 ; VI, 15, 2 ; VII, 32, 19 ; *VS* XIX, 8 ; XXX, 19 ; 29 ; *VSK* XXI, 1, 7 ; XXXIV, 4, 1 ; 2). The presence of this radical in Classical Sanskrit is likewise vouched for by its derivative *maha-* 'festival' (Cf., *PW* and *MW*).

festival, jest, jester, joker, jolly, jovial, joy, jubilate, jubilation, jubilee, like, rejoice (E).

### Verse 8

(Text)

मा वो व्युन्तं मा शुपन्तम्  
 प्रति वोचे देवव्युन्तम् ।  
 सुम्नैर इद व आ विवासे ॥

(Translation)

(Believe me Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman),  
 To him, in speech, I won't respond,  
 Who be reviling and cursing Ye ;  
 To him alone will I 'ver speak,  
 Who may be praising Ye with chants.

(Commentary)

In v. 7, the poet gave vent to his deep emotional anxiety to assure himself that the worshipful hymn (verses 1-6), which he had just sung, in praise of the Gods Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa, was also accompanied by the presence in him of sufficient devotional dedication so that They might relish and accept the same. He did it in the form of a question which he posed to himself and his fellow-bards and seemed to have realised, in reply to that question, that the said Gods showered their favours on them alone who not only sang Their songs but also loved those who were devoted to Them and kept away from those who maligned them<sup>13</sup>. The v. 8, as

13. The realisation which the poet concerned, namely, Kaṇva, son of Ghora, seemed to have arrived at as a voice from within, was, also, quite in keeping with the Vedic tradition approving the broad-based moral way of life which all true worshippers of the Gods were expected to follow, of course, in addition to the singing of Their songs and, likewise, disapproving the debased behaviour of the morally depraved and blasphemous persons whose pernicious company should be avoided at all costs. Thus, Vāmadeva Gautama taught that the Gods befriended him alone who helped himself by his own endeavour (RV IV, 33, 11). Similarly, the poet Medhātithi, son of Kaṇva, emphasised that happiness really was theirs who were active and kept alert and not of those who would only idle away their time (RV VIII, 2, 18). According to Svasti,

translated above, represents the sincere assurance which the poet was quite anxious to give to the Gods in this behalf. Accordingly, this verse is to be construed as being constituted of two sentences, the first of the two ending with the *práti voce* and the second sentence consisting of the rest of the verse. The first of these two sentences would, accordingly, represent the poet as referring to the god-hating (*g'mántam, sápantam*) type of people and averring that he always avoided them and never abused in reply to their abuses (*práti voce*). Likewise, the second sentence would represent the poet as referring to the other type, to wit, those who praised (*devayántam*) the Gods (*vah* in *c*) with songs (*sumnáih*) and declaring that he always loved to be on speaking terms (*ā vivāse*) with them alone.

As rendered by Skanda, this verse made the poet submit to the Gods that he was exclusively Their (*vah* in *a*) own (*svabhūtam*) worshipper (*devayántam>devān icchantaṁ, yaṣṭāram ityarthah*) and that he hoped (*āśāse*) that he would neither (*mā*) return injury (*prativadhiṣām<práti voce*) to one who was out to kill (*ghnántam*) him, nor (*mā*) would he return curse (*pratyākrukṣam<práti voce*) to one who cursed (*sápantam>ākroṣantam*) him, and, also, that he would be or was already serving (*ā vivāse>paricareyam paricarāmi vā*) Them (*vah* in *c*) with comforting services (*sumnáih>sukaih paricarṇaih*). According to Veṅkaṭa-Ādhava, the poet seemed to be telling the said Gods that even when somebody either injured (*ghnántam*) or cursed (*sápantam*) him who was devoted (*devayántam*) to Them (*vah* in *a*), he did not return either the injury (*pratihanmi<práti voce*) or the curse (*pratiśapāmi<práti voce*), apparently, because he

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son of Atri, devotees of the Gods should learn from the sun and the moon the lesson of regularity in life's journey and, also, associate with and follow in life the example of those who were wise enough to teach them well and never did what was wrong (*RV* V, 51, 15). Bharadvāja, son of Br̥haspati, was all praise for the sage who could give a right lead to the people indicating everything, exactly, as it was (*RV* VI, 54, 1). Viśvāmitra, son of Gāthīn, praised his preceptor as one who in the continuous and profuse flow of his learning could be likened to a perennial spring which was ever welling up in hundred streams and whose word was always saturated with truth, thereby, beautifully indicating the Vedic ideal of a *Guru* (*RV* III, 26, 9). Several other *r̥sis* vehemently expressed themselves against those who indulged in running down and slandering the Gods (*RV* II, 23, 8; 14; VI, 61, 3; 1.4, 1) or Their devotees (*RV* III, 16, 5; 41, 6; IV, 4, 15; V, 87, 6; VII, 31, 5) and, also, invariably mentioned foul and false speech as being one of the worst defects of *dasyus*, being men of abominable character, always bent upon harming (*RV* I, 174, 2; V, 29, 10; 32, 8, VII, 6, 2; X, 23, 5; *AV* IV, 16, 7).

was intent only (*eva*) on serving (*paricarāmi*) Them (*vah* in *c*) towards (*uddiṣya*) giving Them all comforts (*sukhāni*). Sāyaṇa, however, would make the poet assure the said Gods that when somebody injured (*hanti*) or cursed (*śapati*) him who was Their worshipper (*yajamānam*<*devayāntam*), he would not (*mā*) report or reproduce (*prāti voce*) to Them (*vah* in *a*) the said injury or the curse, but leave this matter to be dealt with (*śikṣāṇīyah*), by Them alone (*bhavadbhīr eva*) and he himself (*ahām tu*) would keep serving (*paricarāmi*) Them (*vah* in *c*) with ever rich offerings (*dhanair eva*). Grassmann thought that the poet assured the said Gods that he would praise (*prāti voce*) (before Them) the devout (*devayāntam*) alone and not the murderer (*ghnāntam*) nor the reviler (*śāpantam*) and that he would seek favours (*ā vivāse*) of Theirs (*vah* in *c*) through hymns (*sumnāīh*). As understood by Griffith, the poet stated to the said Gods that he did not (*mā*) point out (*prāti voce*) to Them (*vah* in *a*) a man who struck (*ghnāntam*) or reviled (*śāpantam*) the pious (*devayāntam*) and that he called (*vivāse*) Them (*vah* in *c*) nigh (*ā*) with hymns (*sumnāīh*) only (*īt*). Geldner faithfully followed Sāyaṇa in *a* and *b*, but differed a bit in *c* by taking *sumnā-* in the sense of 'friendliness (*Freundlichkeit*)' and *ā vivāse* in that of 'winning over (*gewinnen*)'.

In his *Yāska's Nirukta*, Vol. I (III, 16; pp. 495-96), Rajavade, apparently, ploughed his lonely furrow by visualizing the poet as saying that he would not revile (*prāti voce*) a hater of the gods (*adevayāntam*) who was given to striking (*ghnāntam* at Their images) and cursing (*śāpantam*) Them (*vah* in *a*) and that he would do nothing else but propitiate (*ā vivāsa īt*) Them (*vah* in *c*) with his prayers (*sumnāīh*).

Thus, Skanda, Veṅkata-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, Griffith and Geldner agreed in construing *a* and *b* as one sentence, separating the god-devoted class from the god-hating blasphemers who indulged in harming and reviling the pious ones. Further, they took the former class particularly, the poet himself who, apparently, belonged to the same, as desisting, expressly or by implication, from paying the latter class in their own coin as well as complaining, in that behalf, to the Gods lest they should have to befoul their tongue by reproducing the abuses in question. Grassmann divided *a* and *b*, practically, into two sentences. In one of these the poet told the Gods that he would commend to Them the godly alone and, in the other, that he would not commend to Them the ungodly one. In Rajavade's construction

of *a* and *b* as one sentence, the poet, so to say, reported to the Gods that he saved his tongue from getting polluted by refraining from reviling the god-hater who reviled the Gods or broke Their images. Generally speaking, while these authors differed among themselves in construing *a* and *b* as a single sentence or as two sentences, all of them agreed in taking *c* as a separate sentence. As evident from our above translation and syntactical explanation, we have preferred making the entire verse divisible into two sentences so that it could thereby concord, contextually, with the main hymn, *viz.*, verses 1-6, on the one hand and the verses 7 and 9, between which it comes, on the other.

*a.* The negative particle *má* in *pāda a* is repeated to emphasise the firmness of the poet's resolve, as indicated in our above translation, to avoid, at all costs, the company of those of impure speech.

*vah* is the enclitic substitute for *yuṣmān*, being the accusative plural of the 2nd pers. pronoun *yuṣmād-* (*cf.*, *Pa.* VIII, 1, 21). It refers to the three Gods, namely, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman as already invoked in a generic way, in the *trīa* comprising the verses 4-6, by Their common epithet of *Ādityā-*. In *a*, it is governed by the two present participles *ghnā(n)t-* and *sápa(n)t-* as their common object and, in *c*, it is governed, likewise, by the present participle *devayā(n)t-* as read in *b*. All the seven authors, as cited above towards presenting a comparative view of how each of them had rendered this verse in keeping with his respective syntactical construction of it, agree with us in making *vah* in *a* as well as in *c* stand for the said three Gods. Further, among themselves, they are agreed on making *vah*, in *c*, the object of the verb *ā vivāse* and not, like us, that of the present participle *devayā(n)t-*. Sāyaṇa and, after him, Grassmann, Griffith and Geldner made *vah* in *a* a dative of report, being equivalent to *yuṣmabhyam*, objectively connected with the verb *práti voce*. Skanda understood it as equivalent to *yuṣmākam*, being a genitive of possession, linking *devayántam* with the said three Gods. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava made it an accusative plural, being equivalent to *yuṣmān* and objectively governed by the present participle *devayā(n)t-*. Rajwade, while agreeing with Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava in understanding it as an accusative plural and paraphrasing it as *yuṣmān* made it the object of both the present participles *ghnā(n)t-* and *sápa(n)t-*.

Our translation of the accusative singular form *ghnántam* implies that its base, to wit, *ghná(n)t-* is derived from  $\sqrt{*ghan}$  'revile' which is different from the Pāṇinian  $\sqrt{gh(h)an}$  'kill, move (*hiṁsā-gat-yoh*)' (Pā-Dhā. II, 2). In the first place, the very nature of the context which is characterised by the description of a blasphemer (*ghnántam*, and *śápantam*) as pitted against a worshipper (of the Gods) (*devayántam*) and, in the second place, the general precept as enunciated, in unmistakable terms, in the following v.9, to shed the company of the former of the two, namely, the blasphemer (*duruktá-*), in the third place, the contiguous and grammatically parallel occurrence of the accusative singular form *śápantam* of the present participial base *śápa(n)t-* from  $\sqrt{sáp}$  'curse, swear (*ākroṣe*)' (Pā. Dhā. I, 1025) and, in the fourth place, the employment of the single verb *práti voce* 'respond in speech to' to match, in common, with the present participial forms of both the roots *gh(h)an* and *sáp* should quite convincingly bring into bold relief the cogency of the above postulation of '\*reviling' as the meaning of  $\sqrt{ghan}$  in the present context. The poet has already poured out, in the verses 1-6, his worshipful heart to the said three Gods and being anxious, as expressly stated by him, in the v.7, that They do accept and relish his said worship, he ushers in the present v. 8 to assure Them that, as he feels that They want him to do and, further as propounded by himself, in a general way, in the v. 9 c, he is implicitly following, in his conduct the practice, as universally followed by true devotees, of scrupulously keeping away from those who are blasphemers and always associating with those who are devoted to the Gods. The interpretation put on this word by Rajwade, namely, that 'a killer of the gods' meant an iconoclast who broke Their images, is, apparently, too fanciful and far-fetched to be acceptable and specially so, when there is hardly any corroborative evidence to show that image-worship was in vogue at the time of the *Rgveda*. As indicated in our preceding note, we also, like Rajwade, construe *vah* in *a* as the common object of the two present participles *ghná(n)t-* and *śápa(n)t-*. Similarly, we share his puzzling difficulty in accepting, at its face value, the text which seemed to pose a 'killer' of the Gods who, being immortals (*amṛtāḥ*), could not at all be killed by anybody. However, as evident from our above translation of the verse, we have sought to meet the said difficulty, quite differently, by making  $\sqrt{gh(h)an}$ , in this context, give, on textuo-linguistic grounds, the sense of 'reviling' in place of 'killing' as much more commonly met with. Similarly, the way in which the aforesaid other scholiasts and translators have construed *devayántam* as the object of *ghnántam* and connected

*vah* in a either datively, with *práti voce* or, objectively, with *devayántam* does not at all seem to be relevant to the point at issue. For, the poet just wanted to redouble the effect of his hymn by assuring the Gods that he was Their sincere devotee and, as such, he had nothing to do with those who reviled Them. He thought that the Gods divided men into two distinct classes, to wit, Their true worshippers and vulgar revilers and, as categorically expressed by the poet himself in v. 9 c, They wanted every true worshipper of Theirs not to have any liking (*spṛhayet*) for anybody who indulged in vulgar speech (*duruktāya*), obviously, against Them. Against this circumstantial background, the poet would not at all be serving his said purpose if he only told the Gods, as our said previous authors thought he did, that, when the blasphemers reviled and cursed him, 'he neither retorted to them nor reported against them to the Gods, but kept himself busy all the while in singing Their songs for which there was hardly any occasion as he had already accomplished the same in the foregoing hymn proper (verses 1-6). From amongst our said previous authors, Skanda and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, in their anxiety to make the verb *práti voce* mean 'repaying in the same coin', had to thank themselves alone for becoming compelled to paraphrase the said verb *práti voce*, in the same breath, both as *prativedhiṣam* (Skanda) and *pratihami* (Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava) on the one hand, and *pratyākrukṣam* (Skanda) and *pratiṣapāmi* (Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava) on the other. Obviously, if they could have just bethought themselves of the possibility that the *√gh(h)an*, besides its generally accepted sense of 'killing', could also mean 'reviling', if contextually warranted, as in the present case, they would not have had to run into this linguistic inconsistancy.<sup>14</sup>

14. The above contextually warranted *vgh(h)an* 'revile' was a phonetically abbreviated denominative verb that had developed from the tertiary protolinguistic composite nominal base *\*s(>gh)vár-man-* 'curse, i.e., that which consisted of impure (*\*svádr-*) speech (*\*mán-*)'. The developmental process of the first adjectival component, viz., *\*svár* 'impure', was as follows : *\*bhṛs- > \*bhṛs(>gh)vár- > \*s(>gh)vár..* The second nominal component, viz., *\*mán-* 'speech' was derived from *\*man* 'speak' being a phonetic variant of *vān*, *vran*, *vvan*, *vbhān*, *vman*, *vvrān* and *vbhṛan*, all in the sense of 'speaking (*śabdārthāḥ*)' (Pā.Dhā. I, 445-50, 452-53). The said first component, namely, *\*s(>gh)vár-* 'impure', along with its back-stages, to wit, *\*bhṛs(>gh)vár- < \*bhṛs-*, could be compared to a very large number of its more or less synonymous cognates, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European,

The simultaneous employment, in the same sentence, of both the present participles, namely, *ghná(n)t-* and *sápa(n)t-* which, as indicated above, are basically synonymous in the sense of 'reviling, cursing' has the force of an iterative compound (*amredita-samāsa*) (cf., *Pa.* VIII, 1, 4) emphasising fullness or excessiveness (*vīpsā-*) or, may be continuous repetition (*nitya-*). As such, it is comparable to the quite familiar usage in respect of a large number of synonymous doublets like the following, all of which signify excess of 'foulness, dirtiness' *avaskara-* (OIA); *avā-javā-* ( $\checkmark$ *bolanā* or *kahanā*), *khari-khoṭi* ( $\checkmark$ *sunānā*), *ganda-bālā-* ( $\checkmark$ *bakanā*), *gālī-gloca-* ( $\checkmark$ *karanā*), *garda-u-gubāra-*, *burā-bhalā-* ( $\checkmark$ *kahanā*), *bhasa-çāi-*, *mitti-ghaṭṭā-*, *vāhī-tabāhī* ( $\checkmark$ *bakanā*). For illustrating the above-mentioned consolidated iterative significance of the two synonymous words of the present context, namely, *ghnántam* and *sápantam*, which are used, separately, and not in the form of a regular doublet, a reference could be made to some other similar Vedic usages like the following : *nidé ca vāktave* 'to a \*foul-speaker' (RV VII, 31, 5); *ṛtám ca satyám ca* (RV X, 190, 1); *ṛtám satyám* (AV. XII, 1, 1), *ṛtam vadisyāmi. satyam vadisyāmi. tan mām avatu. tad vaktāram avatu...* Tai.Up. I, 1, 1.

Under Pāṇinian enunciation, as generally followed so far, in respect of the conjugational forms of  $\checkmark$ *vac* 'speak', *práti voce* is aorist indicative Ā. I per. sing. of *prati*  $\checkmark$ *vac* 'respond in speech,

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including the following : *vagh* 'sin (MW)', *aghá-* 'impure, sin', (*avas*)*kara-* 'faeces', *ākrus* 'curse, revile', *kardam-* 'mud, filth', *kaluṣa-* 'foul', *kalmasa-* 'stain', *vkuth* 'stink', *vkṣip* 'revile', *khala-* 'bad person', *vgarh* 'reproach', *gālana-* 'reviling', *gālī-* 'abuse', *vgu(ū)* 'stool', *gudā(ā)-* 'anus', *gūtha-* 'faeces', *gomāya-* 'dung', *vgħaṭ(t)* 'speak of malignantly', *ghana-* 'vulgar fellow', *bhas-* 'ashes', *bhasman-*, 'id.', *bhrasṭā-* 'polluted', *bhrasṭā-* 'unchaste woman' *vāktu-* '\*foul speaker', *viṣ-* 'faeces', *viṣṭā-* 'id.', *vsap* 'curse', *sápa-* 'curse' (OIA); *ganda-* 'dirt', *gālī-* 'abuses', *gālī-gloca-* 'abuses', *ghanda-* 'blasphemer', *gāndā-* 'anus', *gāra-* 'dirty (sediment)', *gu(ū)mha-* 'faeces', *guhā-* 'id.', *gū-* 'id.', *gebara-* 'dung', *għaġ-* 'id.', *cut(t)a-* 'anus', *cūta-* 'id', *vbakanā* 'abuse', *bakavāsa-* 'abuses', *bhasa- cāi-* 'refuse', *bhiṭṭa-*  $\checkmark$ *jānā* 'be polluted', *bhiṭṭanā-* 'being polluted', *bhariṣṭa-* 'polluted', *vhaganā* 'stool' (NIA); *khrāba-* 'impure, bad', *gandagi-* 'filth', *gandah-* 'filthy', *garda-* 'dust', *gunāha-* 'crime', *gubāra-* 'dust storm', *glāzata-* 'filthy', *galiza-* 'filth', *galta-* 'wrong' (Pers.); *calumnia-*, *vcarpere* *gutta-*, *scurrā-*, *scurrilis-* (L); *calumny*, *vcarp*, *crime-*, *vcurse*, *garbage-*, *gutter-*, *scurril(e)-*, *scurrilous-*, *sewage-*, *sewer-*, *sin-*, *soil-*, *spoil*, *vstink*, *stool-*, *sully-*, *vswear* (E).

be on speaking terms with'. This form is said to have been arrived at by infixing *u(m)* in  $\sqrt{vac}$  (*Pā.* VII, 4, 20).<sup>15</sup>

Rajwade, thinking that there was a retro-assimilative (*pūrvvarūpa-ekādeśa*) *sandhi*<sup>16</sup> between *práti voce* and *devayántam*, split up the same as  $^{\circ}ce\ ade^{\circ}$  This was, however, incorrect. For, otherwise, through *sandhi* accent,<sup>17</sup> the text should have read as ( $^{\circ}ce + *ádevayantam >$ )  $^{\circ}cé^*$  'devayantam and not  $^{\circ}ce\ devayántam$  as it actually reads. Therefore, the reading *\*ádevayantam* coupled with its rendering as 'a hater of the Gods' and its construction as the subject of the present participles *ghná(n)t-* and *sápa(n)t-*, which he obviously sponsored, was simply unwarranted.

The word *devayántam* in the verse is acc. sing. of the masculine present participial stem *devayá(n)t-* which, as translated above, is taken by us in the sense of 'one who praises'. However, Yāska, in paraphrasing *devayántaḥ* (*RV* III, 8, 1) as 'devān kāmayamānāḥ

15. It, however, seems that a relevant comparative study instituted at the pre-historic Indo-European level would vouch for  $\sqrt{*voc}$  being postulated as a separate synonymous radical (cf., e.g., L *vocare* 'call', OF (>ME.) *vo(u)cher* 'id.', E *vocal*, *vocative*, *vouch* etc.). Accordingly, at the Old Indo-Aryan level, it could as well be described as a defective radical which was employed only as a substitute for  $\sqrt{vac}$  in the aorist conjugation of the latter. As such, it could better be added, in a supplementary way (*upasamkhya-*), to the list, as already enunciated, of certain other similar radical substitutes like *vib*, *vighr*, *vdham*, *vtisṭha* etc. to be employed in place of certain other roots like *pā*, *ghrā*, *dhmā*, *sthā* etc. in particular conjugational forms of the latter (*Pā.* VII, 3, 78).  $\sqrt{*voc}$  was derived at the proto-linguistic level as follows: ( $*bhṛ- >$ ) *vṛdh-* 'speech' (cf., *Pā. Dhā.* X, 250),  $> *vṛdhmaṣā- 'id.' > *vra(dma>)rva(sa> cā- > *vra(dma > rva >)rva(sa >)cā- > (*vrā >) vāvacā- > *(vau >) vocā- >  $\sqrt{*voc}$ . It may just as well be indicated here that OIA *vbru* 'speak', *vru* 'id.', *vlok* 'id.' and *vivvoka-* (also *vibboka-* and *bibboka-*) 'absense of speaking (marking haughty indifference)', Gk. *vlego* 'speak', and *logos-* 'word' along with a very large number of their other all-level cognates, owe their origin to the same aforesaid base ( $*bhṛ- >$ ) *vṛdh-* 'speech'. Accordingly, it has to be pointed out that our  $\sqrt{*voc}$  is a lineal descendent of  $\sqrt{(*bhṛ>)vṛdh}$  'speak' and not of  $\sqrt{(*bhṛ> vṛ>) vac}$  'speak / reproach' (cf., *Pā.* II, 4, 53/ *Pā. Dhā.* II, 53; X, 310).$

16. Cf., *Pā.* VII, 1, 109.

17. Cf., *Pā.* VIII, 2, 5.

(longing for the Gods)', (*Nir.* VIII, 18), apparently, understood *devayá(n)t-* as the present participial (*śatranta-*) stem from the secondary *devayá*, the latter being made up of the nominal stem *devá-* 'God' and the agential suffix *-yá* in the sense of 'longing for'. The Indian as well as foreign Vedic commentators, translators and exegetists from Skanda downwards have generally accepted this analysis of *devayá(n)t-*. Accordingly, they have understood the relevant secondary radical, *viz.*, *devayá* as a denominative development from *devá-* with the addition of the said agential suffix *-yá* in the sense of 'longing for' co-relating the latter with the Pāṇinian desiderative suffix *-kyac* (*Pā.* III, 1, 8) and explaining the absence of the change of *deva° > devī°* as prescribed in *Pā.* VII, 4, 33 and also, that of *deva° > devā°* as prescribed in *Pā.* VII, 4, 25 by the bar which had been laid in *Pā.* VII, 4, 35 on these changes in the corresponding Vedic usage.

A close study of the several occurrences, in *Rgveda*, of the present participial stem *devayá(n)t-*, has, however, brought out three distinct stages in its syntactic and semantic development. The first is where, as in the sentence (*he*) *Aśvinā(au)*, *āyávah yuvām stómebhīr devayántah havyā (au) yuvām abhī ślókam āśrāváyantah iva āyávah* (= *gatimantah bhavanti*, *RV I*, 139, 3), the stem *devayá(n)t-*, though adjectival in form, continues to maintain its verbal potential intact and, consequently, governs a noun or a pronoun, as the case may be, as its object. The second stage is where, as in the sentence *vah devayántam sumnaír id ā vivāse* in our verse, *viz.*, *RV I*, 41, 8, and, also, in the sentence (*he*) *vánaspate, (rtvījah) adhvaré tvām devayántah (tvām) daívyena mādhunā añjánti* (*RV III*, 8, 1) this stem behaves formally as a substantive, but still continues to maintain its verbal potential intact and, consequently, to govern a noun or a pronoun, as the case may be, as its object. The third stage is where, as in the sentence (*he agne, tvām) devayaté (tvām) devāna yaja* (*RV I*, 15, 12; *III*, 10, 7) and, also, in the sentence (*he īndra, tvām) devayaté tvām vásu vánishthah* (*bhavasi, RV VII*, 18, 1), the stem assumes full nominal value and its verbal potential ceases to govern, expressly, a noun or a pronoun, as the case may be, as its object.

In *RV I*, 1, 2, the poet Madhuccandas, son of Viśvāmitra, speaks of Agni as being worshipped by the new īśis, of course, inclusive of himself, exactly, as He had been worshipped by the

former generations of poets and expresses the hope that He would bring the other Gods to where he was ready to offer, through Him, his oblations to Them, evidently, because He had been carrying on this divine function of His for the benefit of the said former generations of poets. Likewise, in *RV* VII, 18, 1, the poet *Vasiṣṭha*, son of *Mitrā-Varuṇa*, reminding Indra that He had favoured, with all kinds of bounties, his forefathers (*pitārah*) who had been His hymners (*jaritārah*), expressed his faith in His being the greatest granter of wealth to him, also, who was a similar hymner (*devayaté*) of His. While, in the former of these two *rks*, to wit, *RV* I, 1, 2, the members of both the generations, past as well as present, of hymners have been mentioned, alike, as *īśis*, in the latter *rk*, to wit, *RV* VII, 18, 1, all the members of the previous generation of hymners have been given the common appellation of *jaritī-*, the single hymner, being *Vasiṣṭha*, who alone is apparently concerned here, is referred to as *devayā(n)t-*. Thus, a comparison of these two verses indicates that, in the matter of their significance in the context of singing hymns, as each of the three words, namely, *īśi*, *jaritī* and *devayā(n)t-* meant a 'singer', they could be treated as synonyms. This view is further supported by the poets often referring to themselves, simply, by making the poet-signifying words like *kārū-*, *jaritī-* and *stotī-* denote the composite idea of 'the present poet', that is to say, 'I' or 'me' etc. Thus, for instance, the nom. sing. forms *kārūḥ*, *jaritā* and *stotā* *RV* X, 75, 1; I, 38, 5; 4, respectively, stand for 'I' and, likewise, the dat. sing. forms *kārāye*, *jaritré* and *stotré* in *RV* III, 33, 9: 1, 185, 3; VI, 35, 1, respectively, stand for 'me' with reference to the respective poets as concerned. Exactly, on this pattern, the dat. sing. form of *devayā(n)t-*, viz., *devayaté*, as repeatedly read in the popular *pāda* : *devān devayaté yaja* of *RV* I, 15, 12; III, 10, 7; 29, 12; V, 21, 1 means 'for (me), the (present) poet' with reference to each particular poet as concerned. That the stem *devayā(n)t-* signifies 'a priest-poet' only and not 'a priest-employing sacrificer (*yājamāna*)', as generally understood so far, alike, by the old commentators as well as modern interpreters, gets additional support from the contexts, represented by *RV* I, 124, 10, where, for instance, the poet and the sacrificers concerned have been clearly differentiated and the Goddess *Uṣás* is invoked, to shine, bountiously, for both, to wit, for the sacrificers (*maghāvadbhyah*) as well as for the poet himself (*stotré*). That the poet *Sumitra*, son of *Vadhryaśva*, speaks of himself in *RV* X, 69, 8 as *devayā(n)t-* further makes it clear that what

the latter stem signifies, whether as an adjective or as a noun, relates to 'praising (the Gods)' which is the exclusive function of the priest-poets and not that of the priest-employing *yajamānas*. Similarly, in *RV* III, 5, 1 and III, 8, 1 the functions of 'kindling (*samīndhana-*)' of the sacrificial fire and 'besmearing (*añjana-*)' of the sacrificial post (*yūpa-*), respectively, which are performed by the priests only and not the *yajamānas*, are ascribed to the *devayāntas*.

In view of what has been stated above the present participial (*śatranta-*) stem *devayá(n)t-* is to be described under the Pāṇinian structural technique, as being related to the denominative radical *devayá* which developed from *devá-*, being an action-noun, derived in the sense of 'praising (*devana-*)' from *div* 'praise (*stuti-*)' (cf., *Pā. Dhā. IV*, 1) with the addition of the oxytonising suffix *-ayac* in the sense of 'performing (*tat karotyarthे*)' (cf., *Pā. Dhā. X*, *sūtras* read between 383 and 384)<sup>18</sup> and not, as held by others, from the agent noun *devá-* 'a God' with the addition of the suffix *-kyac* in the sense of 'desiring to appropriate' (cf., *Pā. III*, 1, 8).

While Skanda and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, taking their cue from *Nigh. III*, 6, have rendered *sumnāih* here as 'with comforting services (*sukhaiḥ paricaraṇaiḥ*)' and 'towards comforts (*sukhāni uddisya*)', of course, of the Gods, respectively, Sāyaṇa has understood the word in the sense of 'riches (*dhana-*)', possibly, *i.e.*, 'rich offerings'. *PW* understood the word *sumnā-* here in the sense of 'prayer (*Andacht, Gebet*)', as being an expression of devotion (*Ausdruck der Zuneigung*). Whereas Grassmann, Griffith and Rajavade have, practically, towed the line of *PW* in rendering this word here as 'song (*Leider*), hymn and prayer', respectively, Geldner has translated it as 'friendliness (*Freundlichkeit*)', thus, in effect, sticking to the basic rendering as given in *PW*. The natural semantic demand of the present context where the word *sumnā-* is used to signify an instrument of praise or invocation, obviously, points to the need of this word being taken in the sense of 'a song' and that, too, as a primary and not a secondary one as *PW* and its said followers had, apparently, taken it to be. A comparative study of similar contexts as represented, for instance, by *RV* I, 106, 4;

18. The proposed suffix *-ayac* is to replace, in this context, the suffix *-ṇīc* as provided for in the *gāṇa-sūtras* as under reference above.

III, 3, 3 ; VI, 15, 7 ; 48, 12 ; VIII, 9, 21 lends further support to this view. Similarly, in *RV* I, 169, 1 where Indra is invoked to accept (*vanuṣva*) *sumnā* (i.e., <sup>o</sup>*ni*), the word *sumnā-* primarily signifies a hymn as is indicated, clearly, by the use in, parallel contexts, of some of its synonyms. Thus, for instance, in *RV* I, 3, 2 ; 93, 9 ; VII, 94, 2 ; VIII, 7, 9 apposite forms of the same verb, to wit,  $\sqrt{van}$  are employed for calling on the various Gods in question to accept and the accusative forms of the nominal stems *gīr-*, *dhī-*, *stóma-* and *háva-*, all of which, as is well known, denote a 'hymn' or 'prayer', are used to signify the object to be accepted by Them. The use of the same adjective 'most cherished (*prēṣṭha-*)', as qualifying *sumnā-* in *RV* I, 169, 1 and as qualifying *susṭutí-* and *námas-* in *RV* IV, 43, 1 and VII, 36, 5, respectively, might further strengthen the case for our above interpretation of the word *sumnā-* in *RV* I, 169, 1.

Sāyaṇa sought to derive the nominal stem *sumnā-* from the prepositionally composite radical, *su-* $\sqrt{mnā} 'repetition (*abhyāsa-*)', without caring to show what the sense of 'riches (*dhana*)', as ascribed by him, to the word *sumnā-*, had to do with the sense of 'repetition' or 'reading (*abhyāsa-*)' of the  $\sqrt{mnā}$  (cf., *Pā. Dhā.* I, 954). PW also, like Sāyaṇa, looked upon *sumnā-* as being a composite stem. It, however, treated its second component, viz., *mnā-* in a way, indicative of its being derived from  $\sqrt{mnā}$  'understand, think, feel' (cf., *jñāna-*, *avabodhana-* at *Pā. Dhā.* IV, 70 ; VIII, 9), and not from  $\sqrt{mnā}$  'utter' (cf., *MW* under  $\ddot{a}$   $\sqrt{mnā}$ ). It was on the basis of this derivation that PW mentioned the qualities like 'benevolence (*Wohlwollen*)', favour (*Gunst*), grace (*Huld*) and generosity (*Güte*), as representing the primary meaning of the word *sumnā-* and the nouns like 'invocation (*Andacht*) and prayer (*Gebet*)' as representing only the secondary or associative meaning thereof, being 'expression of devotion (*Ausdruck der Zuneigung*)' etc. While Grassmann, Ludwig, Griffith and Rajavade followed PW in giving this extended meaning of 'prayer' to the word *sumnā-* here, Geldner, as indicated above, still preferred to stick to its said primary sense of 'friendliness'. Obviously, he failed to detect the resulting incongruity, because the use of the plural number in the word *sumnāḥ* could be compatible only with some tangible expression of friendliness and not with the abstract idea of the same. Walde-Pokorny, likewise, followed PW in taking this word in the sense of 'benevolence (*Wohlwollen*)' and deriving it from the same composite radical, viz.,$

*suñmnā* (*man*).<sup>19</sup> The *Padapāṭha*, however, reads *sumnā-* as a simple and not a composite base and this may, after all, be the correct position.<sup>20</sup>

The radical component *vivās* of the prepositionally composite verb *a vivās*, as employed in our verse, is not read in *Dhātupāṭha*. *Nigh.* III, 5 and *Nir.* II, 24 read it in the sense of 'paricarana-' which term, in the light of the Vedic occurrences of *āvivās* (e.g., in *RV* VI, 52, 17; 62, 5; 66, 11), is to be understood in the sense of 'worship, doing honour to' and not, as ordinarily done, in that of 'attending on, serving'. Against the evidence of *Padapāṭha* which does not treat *vivās* as a prepositionally composite verb, modern western scholars have generally taken it as a compound of the preposition *vi* and *vas* 'shine' or 'dwell'. In the context of the present verse, as also, in that of its Vedic occurrences elsewhere, the *vivās* does not seem to have the meaning either of *vas* 'dwell' or of *vās* 'shine'. On the other hand, the meaning 'address, speak to' or 'invoke', as adopted in our translation, being, as indicated above, in essential agreement with the aforesaid rendering as proposed by *Nighantu* and *Nirukta*, fits in everywhere. By taking the necessary cue from the particular patternization as enunciated in *Pā.* VII, 4, 76-78 and extending the jurisdiction of the phenomenon in question to the first *conjugation* also where the radical stem ends in *a*, the verb *vivās* can be described as being the reduplicated (*abhyasta-*) form of *\*vās* 'say, praise', which is just a phonetic variant and not a wrong substitute, as *MW* throught, of the synonymous *vāś* (*Pā.* *Dhā.* IV, 57), both *vāś* and *vās* being ultimately connected with the familiar *bhāś* (*Pā.* *Dhā.* I, 613) in the same sense.

19. *Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Grundsprache*, cf., p. \*264, s.v. 3. *men* 'think, become mentally inspired (*dēnken, geistig erregt sein*)', where the stems *máti-* and *mati-* have been mentioned, obviously, as being cognate synonyms of the radical component *mná-* of *sumná-*.

20. Accordingly, the stem *sumná-* may be said to have developed as follows: \**bhṛś-* 'song, praise' > \**bhṛṣvā(rā>)r* > \**prasvár-* (cf., *svr* 'speech, *sabda-*)', (*Pā.* *Dhā.* I, 957) > \**prasvárm(a)na-* > \**psáram(a)na-* > *sáman-* (cf., Gk., Lat. *psalmos*, E. *psalm*; Pers. *snā-* 'praise')/ *psurm(a)na-* > \**surmnd-* > *sumnd-* (cf., Gk., Lat. *humnos* 'hymn').

## Verse 9

(Text)

चतुरश्च चिद् दुदमानाद् ,  
 विभीयाद् आ निधातोः ।  
 नु दुरुक्ताय स्पृहयेत् ॥

(Translation)

*One should shrink from him, indeed,  
 Who, lucki'st though, be a foul-speaker ;  
 Never should one cherish a liking for a foul-speaker.*

(Commentary)

The poet offered, in this verse, a general reassuring follow-up to the solemn affirmation as made by him, in the preceding verse, regarding his own behaviour as a true devotee of the Gods in question, namely, that he would never associate with those who blasphemed Them and would always be on speaking terms with those alone who sang Their songs. For this purpose, he made use, in a way, of what would be called a General Proposition, known to dialectics as *sāmānya-sāstra* and to rhetoric as the *arthāntaranyāsa* figure of speech. Accordingly, he reassured himself, in a way, that every sensible person would follow the same course of action as he had set to himself. For, as the poet might have argued in his mind, if for the sake of filthy lucre, with which, at the most, a blasphemer, provided he happened to be a wealthy person, could help, to some extent, someone associated with the former (the blasphemer), the latter must not forget that, while he might be getting some money, he would surely be losing his soul itself by having to listen, in this bargain, to the former's foul language.

The word *catūrah* has been uniformly taken as the acc. pl. of the numeral stem *catúr-* 'four' and, almost uniformly, made to stand for 'the four dice (*catūrah akṣān*)' by Yāska and other writers, ancient as well as modern, who have written on or about this verse. In our above translation, however, we have preferred to understand this word as being an indirect (*lakṣaṇika-*) reference to the particular throw of dice, known as *kṛtā-* rather than take it in the alleged partially expressed (*abhihitā-*) sense of

'the four (dice)'. The said *kṛtā-* throw is characterised by the obverse fall of all the four dice as generally used in the game. Or, possibly, this word *catúr-* might refer to the same throw in another form of the game, played with a much bigger number of dice, when the dice thrown, obversely, should come out to be divisible by four. This all-obverse or quadri-multiple obverse throw would indicate the best luck to the thrower.<sup>21</sup>

The present participle (*sānajanta-*) *dádamāna-* 'holding' is from the non-Pāṇinian  $\sqrt{dad}$  'hold', being a phonetic variant of  $\sqrt{dadh}$  'hold' (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 8). *RV* IV, 26, 6 in referring to the divine hawk (*śyena-*) as holding (*dádamāna-*) *Soma* (*amśu*), also, uses the same  $\sqrt{dad}$  'hold'.<sup>22</sup> The 'holding' in our verse, however, has the sense of 'possession' or 'control', of course, of the said particular cast of dice, and, hence, of 'the title to what this possession or control is bound to lead to, to wit, wealth etc.' as generally conveyed by the term 'good fortune'.

*catúrah dádamāna-*, in the present context as already discussed, means, as adopted in the above translation, 'one who has on him a perfect smile of good fortune'. This figurative idiomatic expression, obviously, owes its origin to the game of dice, but the said game, as such, does not appear to be referred to here in an expressed manner (*abhidhā-*).

The view that this phrase *catúrah dádamāna-* meant 'a gambler (*kitavá-*)', in a partially expressed manner (*abhidhā-*) which might have been implicit in *Nigh.* III, 13 was first stated, explicitly, by Yāska (*Nir.* III, 16). It has since been accepted, more or less, by almost all later writers who have treated the present

21. Compare the NIA idioms '*sidhā paranā*' and '*ulṭā paranā*' which, literally, mean 'to fall obversely' and 'to fall reversely' but convey the sense of 'being favourable' and 'being unfavourable', respectively. Apparently, these idioms sprang from the meanings attached to the obverse and reverse casts, respectively, of dice.

22. Compare *Pā. Dhā.* III, 10 which refers to the use of  $\sqrt{dha}$  'hold' in the sense of  $\sqrt{dā}$  'give' as well, indicating this phonetic variation in the opposite direction, i.e., *d>dh*. Also, compare Yāska (*Nir.* II, 2) *dando dadāter dhārayati-karmaṇah*; *akrūro dadate manim ity abhibhāsante*.

verse in any connection.<sup>23</sup> But it will be observed that a gambler 'throws' and does not 'hold' the dice. He, however, can 'hold' what the dice might have favoured him with. So, the phrase would refer rather to the situation of the dice having already not only been cast but won, too. As already indicated above, it only figuratively speaks of an affluent person as 'one who had scored the fours (*kṛtā*).<sup>24</sup> Such a person would not ordinarily merit being avoided or shunned by those around him unless he was a misbehaved person. Yāska knew that the context contained a forceful ban on association with a blasphemous person as is evident

23. See, however, Rajavade (*Yāska's Nirukta*, Poona, 1940, Vol. I, p. 496) who compared the present context with the one in *RV* IX, 33, 6 to support his view that this phrase *catūrah dādamāna-* might mean 'one who gives away the four oceans of wealth'. As referred to by Griffith in a footnote to his translation of the present verse, Benfey, Ludwig and Bergaigne, likewise, favoured some other different interpretations of the phrase *catūrah dādamāna*. Thus, according to Benfey, 'the holding of the four dice' symbolised the divine control of human destiny. Ludwig maintained that there was no reference to dice, either of gambling or destiny and that 'the four (*catūrah*)' were Varuna, Mitra, Bhaga and Aryaman. Bergaigne (*La Religion Védique*, III, 158) thought that 'the four (*catūrah*)' stood for the 'nooses (*pāsāh*)' of Varuṇa and not 'the dice (*pāsāh*)' of gambling.

24. Compare Yāska who rendered *dādamānāt* as *dhārayataḥ* which meant 'from one who holds' and not 'from one who throws'. Keith and Oldenberg saw the hurdle in the way of this interpretation and attempted to overcome the same in their own way, the former by taking *dad* to mean 'attempting to throw' (see *JRAS*, 1908, p. 826, fn. 1) and the latter by reading here a reference to somebody else who 'holds' the dice for throwing them on behalf of a gambler (see *RV Notes*). But the difficulty seems to have persisted because neither the one thought any need of explaining how *dad* could be made to yield the sense of 'attempting to throw' nor the other bothered to see what indication there was, if any, of there having existed 'a holder of dice' as distinct from 'a player of dice'. Moreover, it is to be pointed out that neither Yāska's 'dicer' nor Oldenberg's imagined 'dice-holder' could be properly described as 'holding the fours' till it had been determined after the actual throw that it was that particular throw which was known as *kṛtā-*, with the number 'four' being supreme in it. Thus, out of the two parties to the game, that one alone could be said to be 'holding the fours' whom the dice themselves had favoured with that enviable position. Compare *RV* X, 34, 6 where the dice (*akṣasāḥ*) are described as holding, that is to say, having control over (*ā dādhataḥ*) their own all-win falls (*kṛtāni*) for favouring therewith the adversary of the gambler (*pratidivne*), apparently, to undo the latter who, erstwhile, had enthusiastically entered the gambling den in full confidence that he would come out victorious. This favour on the part of the

from his paraphrase of *pāda b*, *evam eva duruktād bibhīyāt*.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, probably, taking his cue from *RV* X, 34, 13 (*akṣair mā divyāḥ*) and other like texts which speak ill of dicing, he thought that a 'gambler (*kitavā-*)' would be a suitable meaning for *catūrah dādamāna-* in the present context, obviously, overlooking that a 'gambler (*kitavā-*)' as such could not always be, as has been shown above, a 'holder of the fours' in the real sense of the phrase. But impelled by the force of the *Nighaṇṭu* tradition that *cid* here was particle of comparison, he was in no mood to wait and see if some other meaning of this particle might the better connect *pādas a* and *b* to each other and give that force to their meaning which the context so much needed.

The word *nīdhātoḥ*, being the abl. sing. of the agent-noun *\*nīdhātu-* 'reviler, blasphemer' bids fair to be the pivotal word in the present verse. For, around it revolves the conclusion, as sought to be arrived at, in v. 9, in general

dice is expressly stated in terms strikingly parallel to those of the present passage, *avdhā* 'hold', as said there in reference to the dice, being most appropriately represented by *dad*, in the same sense, as said here in respect of one whom, apparently, the dice had favoured with their own all-win falls (*kṛtāni*). It may be added here that Geldner's reference (see his *RV-Trans.*, fn. to I, 41, 9) to *AV* VII, 50, 2 (*antar-hastām kṛtām māma*), also, does not support the view that *catūrah dādamāna* could be said of a gambler when he has not yet actually scored the *kṛtā-* throw. This might become clear from a comparison with the verses 8 and 9 of *AV* VII, 50 itself where *kṛtā-*, being the most cherished result of dicing is referred to as already held in the hand (*hāste...āhitāḥ*) and, as such, must, obviously, be distinct from the action of mere 'holding' of dice in the hand before their actual throw.

25. Apparently, Yāska has used the word *durukta-* in his paraphrase of *pāda b* as an agent-noun, meaning 'one who speaks, foully' and, correspondingly, understood the word *duruktā-*, as read in *vāda c*, also, like that (cf., *RV* VIII, 2, 18 where *svapnā-*, an agent-noun, is, likewise, related to *svṛṇ* 'like', objectively). As such, *duruktā-* will be taken as a *tatpurusa* compound which maintains, intact, the accent of its oxytone second component (cf., *Pā. VI*, 2, 139; 144). Skanda and Durga have taken *duruktā-* as an action-noun which, however, is to their disadvantage. For, proper comparison, if wanted, could be between 'a gambler' on the one side, and 'a reviler' and not the 'the action of reviling', on the other. Also, these writers as well as the Western scholars, who have followed them, have construed *svṛṇ* 'desire' in the sense 'desire to speak' which is unwarranted, because this verb refers, objectively, to a person or thing that the speaker is anxious to have or appropriate, obviously, from outside himself and not from within himself

terms, of the topic commenced in v. 7 and brought to a head in v. 8, namely, that the best way to please the Gods with hymns in their honour would be not only to go on singing the said hymns with intense fervour and unflinching devotion but, also, to reflect our sincerity, in this behalf, by avoiding the company of those who blasphemed the Gods and by closely associating ourselves with those alone who were devoted to Them. Thus taken, the nominal stem *\*nīdhātu-* is derived from  $\sqrt{*nidh}$  'revile' which, barring the familiar phonetic variation *dh>d*, is identical with  $\sqrt{nid}$  (*Pa. Dhā. I*, 896) and cognatively related to  $\sqrt{nind}$  (*ibid.*, 66) and  $\sqrt{ned}$  (*ibid.*, 897), all of these roots also, being in the sense of 'reviling'.<sup>26</sup> Under the Pāṇinian morphological plan, the stem *\*nīdhātu-* would be formed, in the sense of 'agent', with the suffix *-\*ātu* with the indicators (*anubandhas*) *k* and either *n* or *p* (*i.e.*, *-kātun* or *-kātup*) to explain the retention of the original low grade of the vowel in *nī* and, also, the incidence of the accent on the same vowel. In this way, it becomes an extended cognate synonym of *nīd-* 'reviler', the object of so much despise in *RV*.<sup>27</sup>

The *Padapāṭha* treats the word as a prepositional compound (*nī-dhā<sup>o</sup>*), probably, with the abl. inf. ( $\sqrt{dhā} + -tosum >$ ) *dhāto(s>)h* (*cf.*, *Pa. III*, 4, 16) as its second component and with accent on the first component, to wit, the preposition *nī* (*cf.*, *Pa. VI*, 2, 50). Almost all the scholars, ancient as well as modern, who have dealt with this verse in the course of their translation of either the *Rgveda* or the *Nirukta*, have followed the *Padapāṭha* in taking the word *nī-dhātoh* as a prepositional compound (*gati-samāsa-*). Further, while Böhtlingk (*BW*), Grassmann (*GW*) and Oldenberg (*RN*), also, agree with the *Padapāṭha* in taking the second component, namely, *dhātos* as an abl. inf., Skanda, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Durga, Devarāja Yajvan and Sāyaṇa differ from the same in taking the said second component as the abl. sing. of the action-noun *dhātu-* 'placement', and not as being the abl. inf., to wit, *dhātos* which is an indeclinable (*cf.*, *Pa. I*, 1, 40). This is evident from the use of the word *nīdhānāt* by Skanda, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Durga, and Devarāja Yajvan and of the word *nīpāta-*

26. Cf., *Vishva Bandhu* : A Vedic Word Concordance (Hoshiarpur, 1956), Vol. I, p. 1807, fn. (e).

27. Cf., e.g., *RV* I, 129, 6; II, 34, 15; IV, 4, 15; VII, 31, 5; IX, 79, 5.

(-paryantam) by Sāyaṇa in paraphrasing the word *nídhātoḥ*. Sāyaṇa has even expressly stated that the said action-noun *dhātu-* is formed by adding the *kṛt-* suffix *-tun* (*Uṇādi* I, 70) to *dhā* 'place'. But, as he has quite seen it himself, his proposed derivation would require the incidence of the normal *gati-samāsa* accent on the radical syllable *dhā*° (cf., *Pā.* VI, 2, 139) and rule out the possibility of the same falling on the immediately preceding prepositional component *ni*° (cf., *Pā.* VI, 2, 50). So, he has wisely admitted that the initial accent, as actually found in *ní-dhā*°, is irregular (*vyatyayenādyudāttatvam*). Dayānanda and Brahmamuni,<sup>28</sup> who have taken the *kṛt-* suffix *-tu* in its agent-sense seem to have missed noticing the said accentual hurdle, which equally lay in their way also. Of the above-mentioned three modern authors, Grassmann has brought about a rather confusing situation by arriving at the infinitive formation *dhātos*, which is indeclinable (cf., *op. cit.*, *Pā.* I, 1, 40), through the combination of his postulated inf. base *dhātu-*, with the declensional abl. suffix *-as*. Rajavade's suggestion that towards remedying the metrical defect in *b*, the word *nídhātoḥ* should be replaced by the word *nidhā-pateḥ* need not be seriously considered. For, not to say anything of the unwarranted sense of 'wealth' as ascribed by him to the word *nidhā-*, which even in its familiar sense of 'snare (*pāśa*-)', has not the least bearing on the present context.<sup>29</sup>

*Nigh.* III, 13 has mentioned the word *cid*, in the present context, as a 'particle of comparison (*upamā-*)' but the above contextual construction shows that it should rather be taken as an adverbial particle in the sense of *api* 'even though, although' or 'notwithstanding that'.<sup>30</sup>

ā in *pāda b* is a particle of emphasis and affirmation (*avadhāraṇa-*) as Yāska has correctly taken it (*Nir.* III, 16) in paraphrasing it by *eva*. Therefore, it is not to be taken as

28. *Nirukta-Saṁmarśak*, Ajmer, 1966.

29. *Yāska's Nirukta*, Poona, 1940, Vol. I, p. 495.

30. Compare, for similar and other uses of this particle, Yāska I, 4, *ācāryas cid* etc.

an ablative-bound adnominal preposition (*karma-pravacanīya*, *Pā* I, 4, 89; II, 1, 13) as all other writers concerned, ancient as well as modern have apparently done. Indeed, the metrical deficiency in *pāda b*, as already referred to above, might suggest that this *ā* might have been a phonetic development from the emphatic particle *āha* through \**āa*.<sup>31</sup>

It is passing strange and rather unfortunate that what amounted to Yāska's miraculous contribution to the interpretation of the present verse has remained unnoticed and, therefore, not utilized so far. For, as has been remarked above, *evam eva duruktād bibhīyāt* is, really, his paraphrase of *Pāda b* and has not been added from outside the text as Skanda and other later writers concerned wrongly thought it to have been done so. The sentence-structure demands that if *pāda a* contained, as Yāska believed that it did, the mention of the object of comparison (*upamāna-*), namely, a dicer (*kitavā-*), *pāda b* must complete the simile by mentioning, 'the object to be compared (*upameya-*)', namely, a blasphemer (*duruktā-*). Yāska's heading his paraphrase of *pāda b*, and not *pāda c*, with *evam* 'so' conclusively indicates that, according to him, *pāda a* constituted the 'as-wing' and *pāda b* the 'so-wing' of the simile in question and that the *pāda c* just generalized the teaching contained in *pāda b*. In fact, if he had intended to take *nīdhātoh* as abl. inf. or abl. sing. of the action-noun (*ni*~*dhā*>) *nī-dhātu-* as almost all later writers concerned, Skanda downwards, have done, he, too, like them must have construed *ā* as an adnominal preposition governing the following ablative form and not paraphrased it, as he has done, by *eva*, thus making it 'a particle of emphasis and affirmation (*avadhāraṇa-*)'. Also, in that case, he could not but have given, as the said writers have done, a separate paraphrase of the word *nīdhātoh*. It is possible that Yāska's Vedic text might have read *nīdātoh* and not *nīdhātoh* and that, therefore, he might have considered the derivation of the base \**nīdatu-* from *√nid* 'abuse' to be too obvious to need any further treatment than to paraphrase it by the word *durukta-* which, according to him must have been an agent-noun and not an action-noun as the said later writers have wrongly

31. Cf., *Nir.* I, 5 where *āha* is mentioned as a particle of 'emphatic determination (*vinigrahārthīya*)'.

taken it to be. This would mean that the unfamiliar variant reading *nīdhā*° in place of the familiar reading \**nīdā*° might have misled Skanda and other writers, who followed him, into wrongly connecting this word with *nīdhā* 'deposit, place' which, to say the least, could in no way be made to yield their intended sense of 'throwing' or 'casting'.<sup>32</sup>

Undoubtedly, the age-old tradition which, in all likelihood, originated with Yāska in respect of the word *catūrah* in this verse being parsed as acc. plu. of the numeral stem *catūr-* and understood, elliptically, in the sense of the 'four dice (*ca*° *akṣān*)', immensely redounds to his credit for extreme boldness and imaginative fertility and, more so, as it may be said to have stood the test of time in that, down the past twenty-five centuries or more of the Vedic studies having been in vogue, practically, every subsequent writer, as concerned in this behalf, has seen wisdom to lie in bowing his head to it in silent acquiescence.

In our above translation, we, also, have practically followed Yāska in equating 'the four (*catūrah*)', in the first instance, with the four dice (*ca*° *akṣān*) and, only afterwards, figuratively arrived, first, at the sense of 'the particular luckiest quadruple throw of the dice (*kṛtā-*)' and, then, generalized the same into the sense of 'the best luck'.

Still, it may be worth while to consider the whole issue over again. The precept, as positively prescribed in *b*, that one should

32. In the entire range of Vedic literature only *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* XV, 7, 18 employs *nīdhā* in connection with dice which are mentioned there as 'having to be deposited', in a particular position, on behalf of a king, by some one else appointed for this purpose. Evidently, this could not mean 'throwing' of the dice as practised in the regular game. While the Vedic meaning of *nīdhā* is characterised by 'fixity of position' or 'security' (cf., *RV* I, 163, 5 etc. for use, in this sense, of its verbal forms and derivatives like *nīdhā-* and *nīdhāna-*), the usual 'throwing' of the dice, to the contrary, is mentioned as marked by their 'bumping' reaction which seems to be expressed, in a consolidated manner, by *nīvap* which, radically, may be a cognate of *vbump* 'jolt' (cf., *RV* X, 27, 17; 34, 1; 5; 9). To conclude, a regular 'throw of the dice', the meaning which Skanda and others wanted *nīdhā* to express in the present passage, was not known to the Vedic idiom. Its apparently ridiculous equation with *nīdhāna-* in the sense of 'end' or 'death' (see *MW* under *nīdhā* > *dhātus*) need not be taken seriously.

(*ā*) keep away (*bibhīyāt*) from a blasphemer (*nīdhātu-*) and, as negatively generalized in *c*, that one should not (*nā*) long (*spṛhayet*) for (the company of) a blasphemer (*duruktāya*), is echoed forth, again and again, in the *Rgveda* where the blasphemers, in general, have been most disparagingly denounced and held worthy of the severest chastisement.<sup>33</sup> The simile, as intended to be set up by Yāska, between the persons concerned in the materialization of the 'as-wing' constituted of the *pāda a*, on the one hand, and in that of the 'so-wing' constituted of the *pāda b*, on the other, seems to suffer from the fault of inconsistency. For, while the precept in question would require that every person, who had the ears to hear, should always keep a person, who might be addicted to blasphemy and reviling, at a very safe distance from him, the game of dice, towards its consummation, would require, quite to the contrary, that all the gamesters should keep sitting close to one another and that none of them should run away from the rest of his ilk. Thus, there was hardly any valid point of comparison between a gamester sitting close to his kind and a non-blasphemer flying away from a blasphemer. Also, the supposition, if advanced, that a non-gamester and a gamester might be the parties, as pitted against each other, in the 'as-wing' of the simile, had no validity in fact. For, in the general conduct of social affairs, there was no evidence at all to show that those who did not gamble, kept away from the company of those who gambled. Therefore, it was clear that the game of dice could not supply Yāska's intended simile with an appropriate 'as-wing'.

Right from the *Rgveda* downwards, the speech of those who indulged in abusing, cursing, reviling and blaspheming has been generally characterized, in the entire range of Sanskrit literature, as being bitterly biting and smiting.<sup>34</sup> Apparently, our Vedic poet Kaṇva,

33. Thus, they have been variously referred to as being 'those who speak abusively (*anṛtavācaḥ*)', 'those who are of foul speech (*kūyavācaḥ*)', 'those who speak ill (*durvācaḥ*)', 'those who are of smiting speech (*mṛdhrāvācaḥ*)', 'those who are of biting speech (*vādhrīvācaḥ*)' and 'those who are of improper speech (*vivācaḥ*)' (cf., e.g., *RV* I, 174, 2; 7; IV, 16, 6; VII, 6, 3; 18, 9; X, 23, 5; *AV* IV, 17, 5; VII, 24, 1.

34. Cf., fn. 33 *supra*. Also, cf., the usage like *vāk-kanṭaka-*, *vāg-asi-*, *vāg-vajra-* and *śatrujihvā-vajra-* (*Mahābhārata* I, 87, 9; *MW*; *Pāṇiniya Śikṣā* 52; *Pitāmbaropanisad Un-published [Upanishads, Adyar p. 421, 1.3]*, respectively), which, with reference to the class of revilers, speak of the prickly thorns, the sharp sword and the smashing bolt of their cutting (*śatru-*) tongue.

son of Ghora, while denouncing the blasphemer (*nīdhātu-*) as unworthy of close association, might have visualized him as one who carried, in his mouth, a dangerous weapon in the form of his filthy tongue and, accordingly, likened him to a person who, by brandishing the sword which he held in his hand, would be scaring every wayfarer away rather than to a gambler who, away from the ordinary people's familiar pathways, would be sneaking in some faraway gambling den. In keeping with this visualization of the scene in question, it is proposed that the word *catūrah* in *a* should be taken as the acc. sing. of the nom. stem *\*catūras-* 'dagger' and not as the acc. plu. of the numeral stem *catūr-* 'four'. Accordingly, the verse may be translated anew as follows :

*One should shrink from a blasphemer, indeed,  
As one would from him who holds a dagger ;  
Ne'er should one cherish a liking for a foul-speaker.*

Under the Pāṇinian structural scheme, our proposed nom. stem *\*catūras-* 'dagger' may be described as a primary derivative (*kṛt-*) formed by adding the agento-instrumental suffix *\*-asup* to  $\sqrt{*catúr}$  'cut, kill'.<sup>35</sup> As such, from the point of view of patronization, this Vedic nom. stem *\*catūras-* would fall under the extremely vast class of Vedic nom. stems ending in the morphological unit *-as*.<sup>36</sup> The radical element in the nom. stem *\*catūras-*, namely,  $\sqrt{*catúr}$  'cut, kill' may be said to have developed as an action-extension from  $\sqrt{cat}$

35. The indicatory (*anubandha-*) *p* keeps the suffix un-accented (cf., *Pa.* III, 1, 4) and the oxytone character of the radical (*Pa.* VI, 1, 162) intact. This suffix *\*-asup* may be added, by way of supplementation (*upasaṅkhyanā-*) to the suffixal machinery of the Pāṇinian system, as a fourth variety of the suffix *-as*, the other three varieties, namely, *-asi*, *-asun* and *-kasun* having been already included in the said system (cf., *Un.* IV, 223; 184; *Pa.* III, 4, 13, respectively).

36. Cf., the nom. stems ending in *-as*, like, *asakas-*, *asukas-*, *ókas-* etc., altogether, numbering about 3500 as listed in pp. 610-24 of the *Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. 15, pt. ii, 'Index ab ultimo', (V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur, 1965).

‘\*kill, cut’ which itself had developed, phonetically, from  $\sqrt{crt}$  ‘kill (hiṁsa-)' (Pā. Dhā. VI, 44).<sup>37</sup>

37.  $\sqrt{cat}$ , in the present context, is different from  $\sqrt{cat}$  ‘beg (yācana-)' (Pā. Dhā. I, 890). The agento-adjectival stem *catin-* (RV VI, 19, 4) having been employed in relation to Indra, the hero of heroes, and ever distinguished by His valorous deeds, (Nir. VII, 10; Brhadd. I, 87) is derived from the said proposed  $\sqrt{cat}$  ‘\*kill, cut’ and, as such, has been correctly rendered by Veṅkata-Māndhava and Sāyana as ‘cutter (*sātayitr-*)’ and ‘killer (*nāśaka-*)’, respectively. As against this, PW, wrongly taking its cue from the description, in RV I, 65, 1; X, 46, 2, of Agni as ‘hiding in a cave (*gūha cātāt-*)’, has given the sense of ‘one who (out of fear) hides oneself’ to the said word *catin-* and has been simply followed, in this matter, by the entire modern scholarship as concerned. Indeed,  $\sqrt{cat}$  ‘\*hide’, as referred to by PW and its followers, is related  $\sqrt{chad}$  ‘hide (*apavārana-*)’ (Pā. Dhā. X, 301; 403) and  $\sqrt{chand}$  ‘hide (*sunivārana-*)’ (Pā. Dhā. X, 44) and as such, is to be differentiated both from the said Pāṇinian  $\sqrt{cat}$  to ‘beg (yācana-)' as well as from our said proposed  $\sqrt{cat}$  ‘\*kill, cut’. From amongst numerous available cognate formations, only three, namely, OIA ( $\sqrt{kṛt}$  ‘cut’ > \**kṛtvara-* >)  $\sqrt{*kṛtvar}$  (NIA)  $\sqrt{katar(nā)}$  ‘cut’, *katarana-* ‘piece’, *katarā-* ‘id.’; ( $\sqrt{qat}$  ‘cut’ >  $\sqrt{*qatar}$  >) *qat* (*a*)*rah* ‘sword’ (cf., *qatra-i-ab* ‘a brilliant sword’) and Eng.  $\sqrt{cut}$  > cutter >  $\sqrt{*cut(t)r}$  > cutlass, cutler, may be adduced just to give an idea of parallel and equi-level cognate formations in Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European languages.

## STUDIES IN SANSKRIT USAGE :

### 2. VEDIC USAGE OF THE VERB *CAR-*

*By*

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#### I. Introductory

That Vedic interpretation stands in need of many ancillary subjects, has been realized since the dawn of Vedic studies. But it is now being realized that in addition to many established mechanisms of Vedic interpretation, a systematic investigation of Vedic usage (or *vyavahāra-*, as Vedic authorities named it), is also desirable.

The present writer has elsewhere drawn pointed attention to the importance of usage in Vedic interpretation.<sup>1</sup> In the present paper an 'environmental' study of Vedic *car-* has been undertaken, as environments, often grammatical environments, can throw considerable light on the usage of a word. This study is therefore only an attempt to apply practically the ancient theory of *anvitābhidhāna-vāda* to the various meanings of the verb *car-*.

#### II. Contrastive environment

That the verb *car-* essentially means 'movement', may be established by a phrase in *RV* 1.58.5, *sthātūś carāthām bhayate* 'the stationary as well as the mobile is afraid'. This contrastive environment clearly gives us the basic meaning of the verb. Starting from this basis, we can find the usage of pure movement in *RV* 1.33.4, *ékaś-cáran* 'going forward all alone'.

#### III. The range of movement

That the range of movement expressed by Vedic *car-* was very wide, is indicated by the environment occurring in *RV* 1.113.2, *śvetyā kṛṣṇā dyāvā carataḥ* 'the dawn and the night proceed daily'; it was only later, as in the *Mahābhārata*, that *car-* expressed a movement

1. Vide his reviews on *Nirukta Notes* by M.A. Mehendale, (*VIJ* 5 [1967] 228-82) and *The exposition of the Vedas* by Vidyanand Videh, (*ib.*, 6 [1968] 142-45).

confined to the atmosphere: *kṣitāvātaśi rājāṁs tvam, antarikṣe carāmy aham*.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. Grammatical environments

1. That the proximity of the locative case tends to give to *car-* the sense of 'to exist' may appear from the following occurrences: *RV* 1.95.10, *antāś-carati prasūṣu* 'exists in herbs (in order to ripen them)'; *RV* 6.21.4, *kāsu vikṣu carati* 'among which creatures does (he) exist?'; *RV* 1.113.13, *ajārāmītā carati svadhābhīḥ* 'without old age and without death, (she) exists by her own forces'.

2. *RV* 7.46.3, *kṣamayā carati* 'is on the earth' indicates an instrumental environment, the pattern of which has to be investigated.

3. That the accusative may be one of the environments, besides the context concerned, imparting the sense 'to eat' to *car-* is indicated by the phrase *RV* 1.144.4, *purū cāraṇ* 'eating a lot'. Similarly, to graze in *RV* 3.57.1, *dhenūm cārāntīm* 'the grazing cow'; *RV* 10.27.8, *tā apaśyām cārāntīḥ* 'I saw those (cows) grazing'.

#### V. *car-* as a mechanism of denominative compound verb

That *car-* was also used as a verb-forming mechanism, when compounded with nouns, so common in modern Indo-Aryan languages, will be clear from the following examples: *RV* 1.158.2, *kāmaprēṇeva mānasā cārāntā* 'making up their minds to fulfill the desires (of the sacrificer)'; *RV* 10.124.9, *apāṁ sakhyē cārāntam* 'being friendly to the waters'.

#### VI. *car-* as a mechanism of habitual action

An interesting pattern of habitual action expressed by using *car-* in association with a participial construction may be noticed in the following: *RV* 6.61.8, *rōruvat cārati* 'keeps producing a noise', *RV* 1.4.4, *jihvāyādān cārati* 'habitually eats (offerings) with (his) tongue'.

#### VII. Conclusion

The above data on the Vedic usage of *car-* are only a piloting survey of environments in which words other than *car-* or its derivatives help to produce a particular meaning. That the part of other words in this phenomenon is somewhat greater than that of *car-* itself, will be clear from these occurrences.

2. Cf. E.D. Kulkarni, *Verbs of movement in the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata*, Poona, 1941, p. 2.

ADMA-SÁD\*

By

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The word *adma-sád*, in its different declensions, occurs six times in the *Rgveda*. No satisfactory explanation has been provided for this important word, the ordinary meaning given to it being 'guests at feast' or 'priests sitting at a feast or offering.'<sup>1</sup>

Geldner suggests that the word means 'a fly' that sits on meals, following Durga who explains it thus.<sup>2</sup> He changes this rendering in some contexts. Oldenberg rightly observes that this meaning is unacceptable.<sup>3</sup> The rendering 'fly' goes against such usages as *admasádām nṛṇām* (7.83.7) which indicate the *admasád-s* to be men. It would be advantageous to examine all the occurrences of this word to get at its real implication.

One thing that is remarkable with this word is that it is associated with the idea of waking or keeping awake, as also with chanting. Thus, we have Uṣas praised as *admasán ná sasató bodháyanti* (*RV* 1.124.4). Here, though Uṣas is being praised, it does not clearly show that *admasád* denotes a woman as Yāska and Sāyaṇa think. The greater probability is that it refers to a male with whom Uṣas is being compared with regard to the act of awakening. We have, elsewhere, *admasád* denoting a *vipra* (*admasád vipro ná jāgṛvih*, 8.44.29). We have noted above *admasád* as an epithet of *nṛṇām*. Again, it is used in reference to the mountains (6.30.3) in the masculine. Agni is said to be *admasádvā* (6.4.4).

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\*A paper read at the 25th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at the Jadavpur University, Calcutta, in October 1969.

1. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, (Indian Rep., Delhi, 1958).
2. *Der Rigveda*, (Cambridge. Mass., 1951), on 1.124.4.
3. *Vedaforschung*, (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1905), p. 90.

It will be clear from the above that the concept in *admasád* is that of a male. With this is associated the concept of awakening, most probably by means of the chanting of the *mantras*. The word *vipra* in *vípro ná jágryih* indicates the same thing. Where the word *admasád* is used along with *nṛṇām*, it is directly associated with praise, (cf., *nṛṇām admasádam úpastutih*) and when Agni is said to be *admasádvā*, he is also said to be *vadmā*, suggesting praise. In the word *admasád*, the portion *ádma* indicates 'food' ( $\sqrt{ad+man}$ ) and this has been accepted by all. *Admasád* will therefore, indicate a singer sitting at meals, or a chanting priest sitting at the offerings. It appears that it was the duty of this priest to keep awake during the night or wake up early in the morning and awaken the others. One priest awakening others is referred also elsewhere in the *Rgveda* (e.g., 10.101.1). Of all the occurrences of the word *admsád*, the most original and suggestive seems to be *admsád víprah... jágryih* which may be compared with *jágryádbhir havísmdbhih* (3.29.2). The word *jágryádbhih* occurs at two more places (7.5.1 and 10.91.1) and at the latter place the expression is *jágryádbhir járamāṇah*, connecting it with the mantra-praise (viz., *járamāṇah*) in respect of Agni. There is another word with the same import, viz. *jágryámsah*, which occurs thrice in the *Rgveda* (1.22.21; 3.10.9 and 6.1.9; cf., also 8.5.3, *jágryámsam*). The words *jágryat* and *jágryi* seem to be derived from *jágṛ*, from  $\sqrt{gr}$  meaning 'to praise', and 'to keep awake, to praise' being the primary meaning. The concept is present also in the word *jágarana* which indicates not only the act of keeping awake (during the night) but also that of singing, and praising the deity. This is fully corroborated by the word *mantra-jagara*.

With the concept of *upastuti*, *bodhana* and *jagryitva* associated with the word *admasád*, there should be no doubt about its indicating a priest who presided over the offerings and whose duty it was to rouse others, himself being awake before to all, or, in other words, a high priest. Exactly here lies the importance of the fact that the *Vasiṣṭhas* pride themselves as *admasád-s* on whose account, the gods came to the help of *Sudās* (cf., 7.83.7, *satyā nṛṇām admasádam úpastutir devā eṣām abhāvan devá-hūtiṣu*). It is, again, due to the fact of the status of *admasád-s* that Agni is compared to a *vipra* who is an *admasád* (8.44.29), and *Uṣas* directly to *admasád* (1.124.4). The word *admasádyā* (8.43.19) indicating the office or act of the *admasád*, is associated with Agni, who is referred to as *admasádvā* (6.4.4).

The concept of *admasād* as the high priest officiating at the offerings (sacrificial food) and rousing Agni and the other priests by his *mantra-s*, has a close parallel in the *Vendidād* (Ed. *Sacred Books of the East*), where (Vol. I, p. 56), Shraosh Varez is the god that awakens people for the prayer. The word *Śraosha* (cf.,  $\sqrt{s}$ !) indicates 'hearing, 'awakening' and also 'punishing' (those who do not 'listen' to his orders). This god is compared with a cock awakening people in the morning. He is also supposed to pronounce the *shrashtā* (cf., Vedic *Śrauṣat*) which is the formula for the offering.

ON *AMĀRTASYA CĀKṢĀNAM* IN *RGVEDA* 1.13.5\*

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1. In the Āpri hymn *RV* 1. 13, verse 5 refers to the *barhis-prayāja* in a sacrificial performance :

*str̥ṇītā barhīr anuṣāg ghṛtāprṣṭham maniṣināḥ |*  
*yātrāmīrtasya cākṣānām ||*

'Spread out the ghee-anointed *barhis*, in due order, O wise ones, (the *barhis*) on which there will be the appearance of the immortal'.

Obviously, this is the poet's address to his fellow-priests at a sacrificial session. In the first two feet, he asks them to prepare an enticing seat for the god (or, according to some, for the gods—as will be pointed out later) who should come to the sacrifice. This explains why the *barhis* should be ghee-anointed. Thus far, the interpreters of the *Rgveda* are in accord. But in their interpretation of the third foot, they have revealed divergent opinions and left scope for a fresh interpretation of the same. In the following pages, I propose to show, first, why most of the earlier attempts have not explained this foot satisfactorily and, then, to offer an alternative explanation of the same.

2. 1. Mādhava paraphrases the verse-foot thus : *amṛtāni yasyām vedyām dīsyante* 'where, i. e., on the altar, are noticed the immortal ones'.<sup>1</sup> Here Mādhava refers *yātra* to the 'altar' (this he supplies) on which are noticed the immortal ones. About the immortal ones, however, he is not clear. The neuter form *amṛtāni* seems to show that he considers *amīrtasya* as a collective expression

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1. *Rgvedavyākhyā*, Part I, ed. C. K. Raja, (Adyar, 1939), p. 79.

for 'offerings'. Thus he brings in the concept of offerings by implication (*vyañjanā*) and this is so done by later traditional commentators also.

2. 2. Skanda offers two explanations.<sup>2</sup> His first explanation reads : *yatra barhiṣi...amṛtasadṛśasya atyantamṛṣṭasya haviṣāḥ,...darśanāṁ sāditasya sataḥ, yatra sāditāṁ havir dṛṣyate*, 'where (on the *barhis*) is seen the nectarlike well-prepared offering, when kept on it'.

Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava apparently follows him as he states (the same thing) : *yatra amṛtaṁ havir dṛṣyate barhiṣi*.<sup>3</sup>

Sāyaṇa has also followed suit in stating the first of his two explanations<sup>4</sup> (which means the same thing) thus : *yatra yasmin barhiṣi...amṛtasanāṁasya...ghṛtasya...darśanāṁ bhavati*. However, he specifies the offering as *ghṛta* 'ghee' and, possibly, understands *ghṛtāprṣṭham*, the qualifier of *barhis*, (possibly), as indicative of its future appearance.

All these three, thus, refer *yātra* to *barhis* (which is already mentioned in the verse) and show a better understanding of the verse by avoiding to include the sense of the altar through indication (*lakṣaṇā*). But they accept *amṛtasya* as a form of the singular and a qualifier of *haviṣāḥ* which they also supply. Thus, these commentators also have taken recourse to implication.

2. 3. The alternative explanations of Skanda and Sāyaṇa may have resulted from their later thought of avoiding the processes of indication and implication to which reference is made just above.

Skanda writes : *agnir vā amaraṇadharmaṭvād amṛtaḥ, tasya yatra darśanam/ sāmīpikām tv idam adhikaraṇam/ samīpe 'gnir dṛṣyata ity arthaḥ 'Or, where is seen Agni, called *amṛta* owing to his immortality. The substratum here is of the nature of nearness. Agni is seen nearby'.*

2. *Rgveda with commentaries*, Part. I, ed. Vishva Bandhu, (Hoshiarpur, 1965), p. 76.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Rgveda Samhitā with Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, Vol. I, (Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, 1933), p. 121.

Sāyaṇa writes : *maraṇarahitasya devasya barhirnāmakasya agner darśanāṁ bhavati* 'There is seen the god Agni, of name *barhiṣ*, (one) without death (i.e., immortal).'

Thus, both Skanda and Sāyaṇa take *amṛta* to mean Agni. And, this could indeed be a happy solution, as I shall show below. But both of these commentators have offered it only as a second alternative and, therefore, seem to show their preference for the first alternative given above. It is possible that a sacrificial bias may have led both Skanda and Sāyaṇa to see in this verse (which already refers to the *barhis*-concept connected with sacrifice) some additional detail of the sacrifice. Thus, Skanda notices the appearance of Agni beside the *barhis* and Sāyaṇa understands some particular form of Agni, viz., *barhis*-Agni. But Skanda's desire to avoid the help of indication and Sāyaṇa's reluctance to include some further sacrificial detail can be the cause of their preference for their first alternatives.

All the orthodox commentators have thus accepted *amṛtasya cākṣaṇam* in the sense of 'the appearance of offering(s)'.

3. Modern commentators have taken another line. They all take *amṛta* to mean 'the immortal' and mostly understand it as a reference to the group of gods—of course, with certain differences which I shall note below.

3.1. Bergaigne translates the verse-foot as : "...and where 'the immortal (one) appears'" and annotates on the same thus : "Indra : cf. 1. 142. 5 ; 10. 70. 4. Or, in a general sense, the immortals—particularly, the Ādityas : 1. 188. 4."<sup>5</sup> The note makes it pronouncedly clear that Bergaigne leaves the word as of uncertain meaning. He thinks of Indra on the basis of a comparison between *RV* 1. 13. 5 and *RV* 1. 142. 5 which belong to two Āpri-hymns of the same tradition. These two hymns offer the fore-offerings to both *Narāśamsa* and *Tanūnapāt* forms of fire. And, further, *RV* 1. 142. 5 mentions Indra and would lead one to think of his identity with *amṛta* in *RV* 1. 13. 5 ; for convenience, I quote the verse here :

*strñānāśo yatāsruco barhīr yajñē svadhvaré |  
vṛñjé devāvyacastamam īndrāya śárma saprāthah |*

5. *Quarante hymns*, (Paris, 1895), p. 111.

One thinks that the *barhis* is spread out to serve as a specious abode for Indra, owing to the force of *deváyacastamam* in the verse. But this could be shown as incorrect by properly understanding the third foot of the verse as a parenthesis, which shall be shown later. Suffice it to say here that Bergaigne does not feel quite certain of this interpretation and, therefore, suggests another which proceeds from the similarity between *RV* 1. 13. 5 and 1. 188. 4; this latter verse runs thus :

*prācīnām barhīr ójasā sahásravīram astryan |*  
*yátrādityā virājatha |*

The Ādityas mentioned in the last foot of this verse possibly correspond to *amīta* mentioned in the verse *RV* 1. 13. 5. As such, Bergaigne thinks that *amīta* refers to a group of gods, particularly the Ādityas. It appears that both these alternatives are, for Bergaigne, equally strong and, therefore, he leaves it still open as to what *amīta* could refer to. Here, I would only state that, for reasons given below, neither Indra nor the Ādityas could be meant by *amīta*.

3. 2. Grassman understands *amīta* as the collective name of the immortal gods together.<sup>6</sup> Geldner<sup>7</sup> and Velankar<sup>8</sup> accord with him, though the latter understands the verse-foot a little differently. Thus, Grassman and Geldner translate the verse-foot as 'whereon the clan of gods shines forth'; Velankar translates the same as 'where the seeing of the immortals' clan takes place'. In his note to this foot Velankar states that *amīta* is the object of the act of seeing; Agni is the agent of this act, not the worshipper as understood by others. Yet, he also could not altogether set aside the possibility of the poetic vision of the immortals as in '1. 25. 17-18 ; 5. 30. 1-3 etc.'.

3. 3. Renou<sup>9</sup> translates the verse-foot as : 'there, where (there is) the means of seeing the immortal', and adds a note to his translation

6. *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*: 4 Unveränderte Auflage, (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 95.

7. *Der Rig-Veda*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 14.

8. *J of the Bombay University*, 30. ii (September 1960), p. 3.

9. *Études Vedique et Pāṇiniennes*, Tome XIV, (Paris, 1965), pp. 40 and 111. Renou's words 'the means of seeing' would show that he takes *cakṣana* as

thus : "cákṣaṇa 'domain in sight' = 'as far as the immortal people reveal themselves'. In this way, this idea is similar to the one expressed in *devávyacas* 'as big (or large) as the god' in 3. 4. 4 ; and, distantly, to that in *vi-rāj* 'to shine in full splendour' in 1. 188. 4."

It is clear that Renou also, like Velankar, takes *amīta* 'the immortal clan' as the object of seeing but, in his opinion, the activity of seeing belongs to the poets while in Velankar's opinion, it belongs to Agni and *possibly* to the poets as stated in his note.

3. 4. It is clear from the above that the orthodox commentators have explained *amīta* in the passage as 'offerings' and the moderns take it to mean 'the totality (or collection) of gods'. V. A. Gadgil translates *RV* 1. 13. 5c as : 'where the immortal appears', and adds a note to it thus : 'Amṛtasya : The word may either be mas. or neu.; in the former case it may refer to Agni himself, while in the latter it may stand for all gods collectively or perhaps for the oblation. Cf. *amītasya cetanam* at *RV* 1. 170. 4; *amītasya cakṣaṇam* at *AV* 5. 4. 3 ; 28. 7 ; 19. 39. 6-8.'<sup>10</sup> It is clear that his translation points to his acceptance of either gods or oblations. The idea of Agni has indeed struck him, but only feebly.

4. Now, I would submit that neither of these two meanings brings out the poet's idea satisfactorily and that the word *amīta* refers to Agni. I have already stated that Skanda and Sāyaṇa chance to strike 'a happy solution' when they offer their second alternatives and also said as to why each of them preferred his first alternative. I would only add here that certain suitable evidence from the *Rgveda* itself would have confirmed for them the correctness of their second alternatives—and this, without any implication of any (additional) sacrificial detail. I would now proceed to my arguments in favour of Agni as the meaning of *amīta* in *RV* 1. 13. 5. My arguments are :

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derived from *vakṣ-* by the addition of *-ana* prescribed by Pāṇini 3.3.117, *karanādhikaranayos ca*. (The suffix *lyuṣ* is added to a root when the relation of the word thus formed to the verb in the sentence is that of an instrument or a location.)

10. *J of the Bombay University*, 4. iii. (November 1935), p. 80. Gadgil's reference to the passages from *AV* is not in any way useful inasmuch as *amītasya cakṣaṇam* there means 'the sight (i. e., assurance) of immortality (=health)' which resides in the medicinal herb *kusṭha* ; the very absence of any relation to sacrifice precludes the comparison.

(i) It must be remembered that the Āpri-hymns *RV* 1. 13 and 1. 142 show the most striking affinity between themselves. Both of these include two separate *prayāja-yājyās* for Narāśamsa and Tanūnapāt and, further, both the hymns refer to the *barhis*-concept in the 5th verse (which is the 4th verse in other Āpri-hymns). Consequently, a careful comparison of the 5th verses in these should be pertinent in deciding the meaning of the doubtful passage in *RV* 1. 13. 5. I have already given the verse *RV* 1. 142. 5 in full. Here, I give my translation of the same. The verse means : 'In (this) well-offered sacrifice, (the priests) who have taken up (in their hands) the *sruc*-ladies (are seen) scattering the *barhis*. (Here) is spread out (the *barhis*) which can be as large (enough) as the god. (May this be) an extensive abode for Indra.' It is necessary to take the third line of this verse as an independent sentence since the *prayāja*-offerings are intended for Agni in the first instance and for Indra and Agni only secondary<sup>11</sup> and, therefore, the verse must refer to a wide seat for Agni (himself, or, possibly, accompanied by other gods). Geldner has well hinted at such parenthetical use of a verse-foot while he commented on *RV* 1. 170. 4cd.<sup>12</sup> Again, he has well brought in the comparison of the foot with *RV* 4. 7. 2. The fourth verse-foot mentions Indra separately since he is, according to the poet of *RV* 1. 142, a special visitor who accompanied Agni to his sacrifice. This is made abundantly clear by the last verse of the hymn (viz., *RV* 1. 142. 13) which is an additional verse in the Āpri-hymn, since it should have consisted of 12 verses like the hymn *RV*. 1. 13—be it remembered here that every other Āpri-hymn consists of 11 verses.

(ii) The phrase *amṛtasya cākṣānām* occurs in an Āpri-hymn by Medhātithi Kāṇva, among many others by the some poet, *i. e.*, among *RV* 1. 12 to 1. 23. And, in many of these hymns, the poet refers to the coming of Agni to his sacrifice and also to his taking a seat on the *barhis* spread out by the priests.

Thus, in *RV* 1. 12. 3-4 he asks Agni to bring the other gods with himself and to take a seat on the *barhis*, in the following

11. Cf. *Nirukta* 8. 2 : *agneya iti tu sthitih*. Also *Bṛhaddevatā* 2. 158 : *sampadyante yathagnim tāḥ sampadām tām nibodhata*. Also read K. R. Potdar, 'Āpri hymns in the *Rgveda*', *JUB* 15. ii (September 1946), p. 40: "We have seen that Agni is clearly the deity in places 1-4 and 11, the Āpri hymns seek to glorify metaphorically a set sacrificial performance, which essentially centered round Agni...".

12. *Der Rigveda*, op. cit., p. 248.

words : *ágne devāñ ihā vaha jajñānó vrktábarhiṣe* / *devair ā satsi barhiṣi* / 'Bring the gods here, O Agni, being born for one who has spread out the *barhis*..... Do sit down on the *barhis*, together with other gods'. Again, in *RV* 1. 14. 1, 2 and 12, the poet repeatedly requests Agni to come to the sacrifice, in the company of gods; also, he is predominantly referred to as occupying a seat (on the *barhis*) in sacrificial sessions, in the words (*RV* 1. 14. 11 ab) : *tvám hótā mánurhitó 'gne yajñéṣu sīdasi* 'You take (your) seat in sacrifices, O Agni, (as) *hotṛ* appointed by Manu'. Consequently, in the Āpri-hymn under question also, Agni is requested to bring the gods with him, as the *hotṛ*, in the 1st and the 4th verses. As such, the immortal who is seen on the *barhis* (that is already spread out by the priests) is certainly Agni. And, Agni is often referred to as *amīta*, thus, in *RV* 1. 26. 9 ; 1. 44. 5 ; 3. 14. 7 ; 4. 11. 5 : 6. 5. 5. etc.

(iii) Here, a comparison of the phrase *amītasya cákṣaṇam* with the phrases *sūryasya (iva) cákṣaṇam* in *RV* 5. 55. 4 and *váruṇasya cákṣaṇam* in 1. 105. 6 is well called for.

The *cákṣaṇam* 'appearance' in the first instance is 'most delightful to look at'—this is expressed by its qualifying adjective *didṛkṣényam*. The appearance of Agni could not be different from that of Sūrya who is but a form of the former. In fact, the poets of the *Rgveda* have described Agni as 'having a lovely appearance', e.g., *sudṛś* in *RV* 3. 3. 4 ; 3. 17. 4 ; *sudṛśīka* in 5. 4. 2 ; *susamdrś* in 1. 143. 3. It would, therefore, be very much in the mind of the poet of *RV* 1. 13 to evoke the idea of Agni's lovely appearance by using the word *cákṣaṇam* in connection with *amītasya*.

The *cákṣaṇam* in the other instance is 'most desired by the devotees' inasmuch as it refers to the careful superintending activity of Varuṇa—this is well brought out by the poet's question which is worded thus : *kád váruṇasya cákṣaṇam.....(gatám)* / 'Where indeed (is gone) the appearance (i. e., presence) of Varuṇa?' This careful watch over human activities by Varuṇa is much the subject of the *Rgvedic* poets' song ; e. g., in *RV* 7. 28. 4cd thus : *práti yáć cásṭe áṇṛtamánená áva dvitá váruṇo māyī naḥ sāt* / 'May the powerful (and) sinless Varuṇa cut down in two whatever sin (i. e., blemish or shortcoming in the regular performance of the ritual) he notices in us.' An idea of such a careful presence of Agni at a sacrifice also must have led to the poet's use of *cákṣaṇam* in *RV* 1. 13. 5.

Thus, with just one stroke of the pen, the poet achieves a twofold result. The presence of Agni at a sacrifice is already delightful to the eye (like that of Sūrya) and it is further useful in the smooth and faultless performance of the sacrifice, thanks to the instruction he gives in the capacity of the *hotṛ* (which latter resembles Varuṇa's activity).<sup>13</sup> Actually, these ideas have appeared together in a *ṛc* from the 7th Maṇḍala (viz. *RV* 7. 3. 6) addressed to Agni, thus :

*susaṁdṛk te svaṇīka prātīkaṁ vī yád rukmó ná rócasā upāké/  
citró ná sūraḥ prāti cakṣi bhānúm ||*

‘O Agni of beautiful face, your appearance is beautiful to look at when you shine forth in the vicinity (of us) like a gold ornament... Distinguished like the Sun, you reveal (your own) lustre’. (I have left out the third foot, since it is not pertinent in the present context.)

(iv) Yet another phrase in *RV* 1.170.4, viz., *amṛtasya cétanam* warrants the propriety in understanding *amṛtasya cákṣanam* as referring to Agni. The mantra runs thus :

*áraṁ kṛṇvantu védīm sám agním indhatāṁ puráḥ |  
tátrāmṛtasya cétanām yajñām te tanavāvahai ||*

‘May they (i. e., the other priests) decorate the altar ; then, may they enkindle the fire—there will shine forth the immortal (Agni, as the *hotṛ*); let us both (then) offer a sacrifice to you, O Indra.’ In this address to Indra, Agastya proposes to offer to Indra a sacrifice—this he would do when Agni has shone forth at his sacrifice (and taken a seat as the *hotṛ*). The equation *amṛtasya cétanam=agnéḥ cétanam* is further supported by *dévasya cétanam* which is spoken of Agni in *RV* 4. 7. 2. thus : *ágne kadā ta ānuság bhúvad dévasya cétanam |* ‘O Agni, when indeed will you, the god, shine forth in due order ?’ Here, there is an emphasis on the idea of Agni's abiding by the regular performance of sacrifice and appearing as the *hotṛ* priest for guiding the sacrificer.

5. One more point must be stressed here. It is said above that the *barhis* which is spread out by the priests serves as a wide

13. Cf. *RV* 3. 5. 4 where Agni is called Varuṇa ; 3. 5. 3 ; 3. 4. 9 where he is called Mitra. Also note his description as *yajñasādha* in 1. 96. 3 ; *yáḥ sunīthó dadūkūṣe* in 2. 8. 2, and *sūro ná yásya dṛśatír arepā...* in 6. 3. 3.

seat for Agni. Agni's taking seat on the *barhis*, as a *hotṛ*, is often referred to by the poet of *RV* 1. 13 himself; and this is already pointed out above. But this is clearly said elsewhere also, as for example in *RV* 6. 16. 10, thus :

ágna ā yāhi vītāye gṛṇānō havyādātaye |  
ní hótā satṣi barhíṣi ||

'O Agni, come (here) for the enjoyment (of our offerings) ; being praised, (come) for partaking of the oblations. (Please) sit down on the *barhis* (as the *hotṛ*).'

Again, Agni is described in *RV* 5. 44. 1 as *barhiṣād* 'seating (himself) on the *barhis*' and in *RV* 6. 12. 1 as *barhiṣo rāṭ* 'the lord of the *barhis*'. It may also be noticed that this last description of Agni well compares with that of Indra in *RV* 8. 13. 4d and 8. 15. 4d. As a consequence, it can be argued that *devāvyacas* 'as big as the god' which is an adjective of the *barhis* in *RV* 1. 142. 5 and 3. 4. 4 need not point only to Indra as argued by Bergaigne, or to the group of gods as accepted by others, particularly to the Ādityas, as argued by Renou. The argument in question proceeds from the adjective *devāvyacas* of *barhis* which is understood by orthodox commentators as *devair vyāptam* 'occupied by gods' and by the moderns as 'occupying (i. e., providing room for) the gods'. But this may not be correct. The compound *devāvyacas* is clearly a Bahuvrīhi compound as seen from the accent on the first member and is to be explained as *devasya* (*vyaca*) *iva vyaco yasya* 'one whose expanse is as big as that of the god'. And, Agni is known for his huge form for he is described as *urujrāvas* in *RV* 5. 8. 6; *prthū* in 2. 10. 4 and *bṛhāṭ* in 2. 10. 4; 3. 15. 1; 5. 34. 3; 6. 1. 3; 10. 88. 2 etc. Further, it may be observed that in this respect (*viz*, having a huge form) also Agni resembles Indra who is described as *samudrāvyacas* 'as big as the ocean' in *RV* 1. 11. 1. This would explain the correctness of my translation of *RV* 1. 142. 5 and be in keeping with the practice of the Āpri-hymns which are addressed to Agni first and Agni and Indra together, secondarily (as stated above). Just now, reference is made to *barhiṣo rāṭ* 'the lord of the *barhis*' that is said of Agni. It would annul Renou's argument, based on the use of the *✓vi-rāj* in *RV* 1. 188. 4, that the Ādityas may be meant by *amṛtasya* in *RV* 1. 13. 5 also. The word *amṛta-* refers to Agni and, therefore, the connection of Agni with both the *barhis* and the *✓rāj* points to the fact that the *RV* 1. 13. 5 could refer only to Agni.

6. The above discussion leaves no doubt as to why the phrase *amṛtasya cākṣānam* in *RV* 1.13.5 should be taken to refer to Agni and not to any other god or gods in general. Moreover, in so understanding the phrase, the process of indication or implication is altogether avoided - the expressed sense is fully compatible in the present context. And, what is more, it keeps in tune with the *Rgvedic* poets' practice of referring to Agni as *amṛta*.

INTONATION CONTOURS IN VEDIC :  
A HYPOTHESIS

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An attempt is being made in this paper to determine the intonation morphemes of Vedic Sanskrit. I have chosen for this purpose the earliest available prose text, *viz.*, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, firstly, because it is accented and, secondly, because prose texts are more revealing than poetic texts so far as the study of intonation is concerned.

Though, virtually, all studies on general Indo-European and on the early dialects treat accentual features as characterizing words, it has also been noticed that there is relationship between the incidence of pitch accent and the type of clauses. Vocatives, for example, have no pitch accent if they stand within a clause;<sup>1</sup> particles which are unmarked for accent occupy the 'second position' in the clause.<sup>2</sup> It may, therefore, be possible to determine the relationship between some pitch patterns and terminals. If so, we might assume that morphemes consisting of pitch patterns and terminal markers make up 'intonation contours' in early Vedic.

The Vedic accent (*svara*) was musical, with pitch as the essential component. We may support this conclusion from the nomenclature used to represent it, *viz.*, *udātta* 'raised', *anudātta* 'unraised.' Three tones are distinguished,<sup>3</sup> and generally referred to as 'acute' (*udātta*), 'grave' (*anudātta*), and 'circumflex' (*svarita*). Since detailed accounts are available on the methods of designating

1. Cf., the rule, *amantritasya ca*, Pāṇini 8.1.19.

2. B. Delbrück, *Die altindische Wörterfolge aus dem Satapathabrahmaṇa dargestellt*, (Halle, 1878), p. 48; also Wackernagel, 'Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung', *Indogermanische Forschungen*, (1892) 333.

3. *Rgveda Prātiśākhya*, 3. 1.

the accents in Vedic texts,<sup>4</sup> I shall not elaborate on them here. It may be sufficient to note that, phonologically, we have only two distinctive tones: high and low, *udātta* and *anudātta*. The independent *svarita* is considered as a variant of *udātta*; the dependent *svarita* and the *pracaya* are treated as alternants of *anudātta*.

While examining the corpus for terminal junctures,<sup>5</sup> it is essential to note its basic phonological units. Three such units may be distinguished:<sup>6</sup> (1) Enclitics, by the absence of an *udātta* accent; (2) Words, by the presence of generally one *udātta*; (3) Clauses, by the possibility of containing more than one *udātta* accent, delimited, later, by final juncture.

(1) Enclitics are those which never bear an *udātta* accent. These include all cases of the pronouns *ena* 'he, she, it', *tva* 'another', *sama* 'some'; certain forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons; the demonstrative forms, *īm* and *sīm*; the connectives, *ca* 'and', *u* 'also', *iva* 'like', *ha* 'just', *cid* 'at all', *bhala* 'indeed', *samaha* 'somehow', *sma* 'indeed', *svid* 'probably.'

(2) Words are units which generally bear an *udātta*, though a few bear a *svarita*. Both nominals and verbs fall under the category, 'words.' E.g.: *agnih sómo + várūṇo + mitrā + índraḥ* (2.5.3.3)<sup>7</sup> 'Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Indra'; *píbantu mādantu viyántu sómam* (2.6.11.10) 'Drink, rejoice (and) enjoy Soma juice.'

4. Cf., for instance, A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, (Oxford, 1916), pp. 448-51; also, W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, (Leipzig, 1924), p. 31.

5. We have been able to assume one phoneme of juncture within a clause, marked by a plus sign (+) in our examples. It is shown to have four characteristic positions in which its occurrence can be demonstrated: (1) Between the consonant sequences which are possible only across words. (2-3) Between vowel sequences; while some are genuine sequences of vowels, most of them result from loss of final s or from other reduction processes, such as -e>-a; (4) Between a vowel and a consonant which results from the loss of the final s of the preceding word. It has also been possible to assume that the role of this juncture was phonotactically equivalent to that of a consonant. For details, see: H. S. Ananthanarayana, 'Evidence for plus juncture in old Indo-Aryan', *Journal of the S. V. University Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 11 (1968).

6. The first two units are extracted from the third.

7. The references in parentheses are to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*. In our examples, the *udātta* accent alone is marked.

Vocatives may or may not have an *udātta*, depending on their location in the clause. Pāṇini states two rules, in different sections of his grammar, concerning the accentuation of vocatives. According to these, vocatives have an *udātta* accent only at the beginning of a clause;<sup>8</sup> elsewhere they do not bear an *udātta*.<sup>9</sup> Thus, we have: *índrānuvinda nastáni* (2. 5. 3. 1) 'O Indra, obtain those for us'; *prajā + agne sámvāsaya* (1. 2. 1. 13) 'O Agni, cause people to live together'.

Finite verbs too may or may not bear an *udātta*; the presence of *udātta* is conditioned by the position of the verb in the clause or by the type of clause. In independent clauses the verb bears an *udātta* only if it stands at the beginning; in all other positions, it does not.<sup>10</sup> In clauses with a relative based on *ya-*, the verb always bears an *udātta*.<sup>11</sup> E.g.; *ṛdhyásma havyáirnámasopasádya* (3. 1. 2. 1) 'May we prosper, seeking devoutly with oblation'; *yáthā tárema duritáni vísvā* (3. 1. 1. 11) 'As we may pass through all distress.....'; *tásya parṇámacchidyata* (3. 2. 1. 2) 'Its leaf was cut.'

Moreover, combinations of two potential words, of which the first is in the base form, are found; only one of these, then, has an *udātta* accent. Such combinations may be classified under two sub-groups, depending on whether the first or the second component bears the accent.

The following are examples of combinations with accent on the first component: *sváhākṛtah* (2. 4. 1. 9) 'offered with 'svāhā'; *jātávedāh* (1. 2. 1. 24) 'having knowledge of beings'; *yajñápataye* (1. 1. 1. 3) 'to the lord of the sacrifice'; *agnimukhān* (1. 1. 6. 10) 'those with Agni as (their) chief'.

Examples of combinations with accent on the second member are: *kavyaváhanāya* (1. 3. 10. 3) 'to the conveyor of offerings (to

8. Cf.. Pāṇini, *amantritasya ca*, 6.1.198.

9. Cf., Pāṇini, *amantritasya ca*, 8.1.19.

10. See Pāṇini, *tinñatiñah*, 8.1.28.

11. See Pāṇini, *yadvṛttannityam*, 8.1.66.

the manes); *vṛtrahā* (1. 7. 3. 7) 'slayer of Vṛtra'; *grhamedhīnam* (1.4. 10. 5) 'the householder'; *trayividāḥ* (1. 2. 1. 26) 'the knowers of the threefold knowledge'.

As is well known, for Vedic, the contrastive utilization of *udātta* indicates that segments may be differentiated solely by suprasegmentals. The contrasts have been thoroughly explored<sup>12</sup> and are noted here only because of their relevance in investigating larger phonological patterns which may be marked by the incidence of suprasegmentals.

Other thoroughly documented entities marked by distinctive suprasegmental patterns are *dvandva* compounds. These are combinations of two potential words, both of which bear an *udātta*. Both members are in coordinate relation. To cite a few examples: *mitrāvāruṇayoh* (1. 7. 8. 4) 'of Mitra and Varuṇa'; *dyāvāprthivī* (1. 7. 6.6) 'Heaven and Earth'; *īndrāgnī* (1. 1. 1. 5) 'Indra and Agni'; *agnīsómau* (1. 3. 1. 1) 'Agni and Soma'.

Although such distinctive accent patterns are used in word formation, we have no evidence for assuming a marker beyond that of the position of the *udātta* or *udāttas*. It would be attractive to assume a plus juncture or another junctural feature between the two components. If so, we could set up two suprasegmental morphemes for combinations of words: (1) — + —; (2) — + —

For example, *náma* + *uktim* (2. 8. 2. 3) 'utterance of homage'; *sumná* + *āpi* 'near in favour' (Whitney, p. 483).

A sequence of ... *a* *u* ... and ... *a* *ā*... is not possible internally. Since there is no coalescence in these instances, we posit a plus juncture to explain the hiatus. On the evidence of this, we may also assume a plus juncture in other compounds, such as: *svāhā* + *kṛtaḥ* (2. 4. 1. 9) 'offered with *svāhā*'; *prajā* + *patiḥ* (2. 2. 2. 1) 'Prajāpati'; *viś* + *pātiḥ* (2. 4. 7. 7) 'Lord of the tribe'.

Though such suprasegmental morphemes are of great interest, they will not be discussed here, further, since the primary aim of the present study is to determine whether longer elements are bounded by suprasegmental markers in Vedic.

12. W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 480-515.

(3) When we examine segments longer than a word or a word-plus-enclitic, we find that they may bear one or more *udāttas*. E.g. : *jaghāna navatīr* + *náva* (1. 5. 8. 1) '(Indra) killed 810 (Vṛtras).' The above contains three *udāttas* as opposed to : *námaste* + *astu bhagavah* (2. 3. 10. 1) 'Homage be to you, O Venerable,' which contains only one. The ditstribution of *udāttas* in these two clauses is conditioned, as noted above, by the type of the word in question and by the inherent accent of individual words.

When, however, we compare further clauses, we note a difference in the selection of entities at the ends of the clauses. The last accent mark in the clauses cited above is a *svarita*. Other clauses are so constructed that they end with a segment bearing an *udātta*. E.g. : *índro* + *nayatu vṛtrahá* (3. 3. 11. 4) 'May Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra, lead'; *ūrdhvám* *jigātu bheṣajám* (3. 5. 11. 1) 'May the medicine spread upwards.' In neither of these examples is the word order mandatory ; the first might have ended with *nayatu*, the second with *jigātu*. This assumption may be supported by the contrastive examples as in the following : *índrah sónam* *pibatu* (3. 7. 7. 1<sup>3</sup>) 'May Indra drink the Soma juice'; *hótā yakṣad agním* (3. 6. 8. 2) 'Hotar should worship Agni'.

The word order in the first example is normal in having the object before the verb, while in the second example it is, we might say, reversed. Similarly, the example, *rājanyám jināti* (1. 7. 9. 3) 'Causes the warrior to win', has the normal word order. On the other hand, the example, *jināti brāhmaṇám* (1. 7. 2. 6) 'Causes the brāhmaṇa to win' has a reverse order. It may therefore be assumed tentatively that the author selected the word order deliberately, in an attempt to use a morpheme of his language. Since it is difficult to suggest that this morpheme is constructed on a pattern of *udāttas*, I suggest, tentatively, that its essential requisite is a terminal juncture. I may indicate the hypothetical juncture of clauses with *svarita* as final accent marking by #, and of clauses with *udātta*, by ll.<sup>13</sup> Through the assumption of these terminal junctures, I suggest that clauses were distinguished by intonation contours which consist of terminals and pitch patterns.

13. These junctural markings have been adopted for their convenience and should not be considered equivalent to junctures marked similarly in other languages;

If such intonation contours existed in Vedic, they must have been morphemes which could be utilized to convey specific meanings. It may also be possible to determine, from clauses with similar segmental material, the function of such morphemes. One such set is the following :

*téna ko + 'rhati spárdhitum #* (2.8.8.10) 'Who is able to compete with him'.

*ténārhati bráhmaṇā spárdhitum kāḥ* || (2.4.7.10) 'Who therefore is (indeed) able to compete with Brahman'.

The first example is terminated with a double cross juncture and the second with a double bar. This difference in the junctures is attributable to the position of words in these clauses. The word *kāḥ*, which fills the subject position in both examples, is placed at the end in the second example. This may be interpreted as an intentional manipulation of word order to convey a specific meaning. Further, the word *téna* in the first example is only a pronominal substituted for *brahman* whose greatness is described in the preceding clauses in the text. In the second example, on the other hand, the word *kāḥ* not only occupies an unexpected position in the clause; the clause is introduced also by an emphatic element *téna* 'therefore'. I interpret *téna* in the second example as an adverbial, since there seems to be no necessity for a pronominal when the nominal *bráhmaṇā* is already in the clause. The word order in the first example is normal, and the clause expresses a simple question. Since this type of clause is much more frequent than the other, I label its intonation as 'Normal Intonation Contour' (NIC).

The word order in the second example, which is manipulated in such a way that the *udātta* pitch falls finally, is sometimes also combined with elements which indicate contrast or emphasis. I therefore label it the 'Emphatic Intonation Contour' (EIC).

If this interpretation is correct, the first example, with its NIC, merely asks who will be a match to Brahman. In the second example, on the other hand, it is quite emphatically indicated that *Brahman* is matchless.

EIC is achieved by several means. We noticed an example in which it is brought about by modification of the word or (

accompanied by an asseverative particle. In the following set of examples, it is achieved by modification of word order alone: *kó + ha vái náma prajāpatih* # (2.2.10.2) 'Who is by name Prajāpati'; *prajāpatir + vái káḥ* II (2.2.5.5) 'Prajāpati is (indeed) who.'

In our first example, the statement is made without emphasis. The context explains that when Prajāpati asked Indra as to who would respect him if he gave away the power (he had) to Indra, the latter told Prajāpati that he himself was *káḥ*. This word was used by Prajāpati in his question to Indra which the latter equates with Prajāpati.

In our second example, the context has this explanation. The gods were distributing among themselves the sacrificial fees. Each god was given a certain item. Then, there was a question, as to who gave this to whom. In answer, we have the equation that Prajāpati is '*káḥ*'. Prajāpati is being indentified with an impersonal god with no form and no name.

By placing the word *káḥ* at the end in the second example the rather remarkable meaning of the clause is emphasized. The word *káḥ* in both the examples may have been just an interrogative placed in a different position to indicate the difference in the meaning of the clauses.

*śraddháyagníḥ sámidhyate* # (2.8.8.6) 'By faith Agni is kindled.'

*śraddháyā vindate havíḥ* II (2.8.8.6) 'By faith obtains oblation.'

The concept of faith as well as the deity connected with it is praised. These examples occur in sequence. After it was said what is gained by faith, in the second example, to be more emphatic, the EIC is selected. In this way the author's point is made very effective.

*índra + upavrdjyovāca* # (3.10 11.3) 'Indra having approached, spoke.'

*uvāca hásito + daibaláḥ* II (3.2.9.15) 'Then said Asita, the son of Debala'.

The first example is in a context which does not require a contrast. The sage Bharadvāja had lived three lifetimes studying Vedic knowledge. Asking what Bharadvāja would do if he were granted another lifetime, Indra is introduced as speaking, and he utters a plain statement. In the second example, emphasis is conveyed. In the

sequence on the discussion of the preparation of the altar, the authority of Debala's son on the quantity of water to be kept in the water vessel is quoted. In this context, we find the second example. It points to a contrast here between the opinions, and the authority of Debala's son is recognized as superior to that of the others.

*vāyām devānām sumatāu syāma # (2.8.9.8)* 'May we be in devotion of gods.'

*vayām syāma pātayo + rayīnām || (3. 5. 7. 2)* 'May we become masters of wealth.'

The above examples are from different contexts. The first example is in a context where a sacrifice to Bhaga is described. After a series of clauses which explain the sacrificers' desire and hope that they will remain with Bhaga during the sacrifice, both in the afternoon and in the evening, the clause in question occurs; it is explained in the commentary as indicating the desire of remaining in the favour of Indra. There is no contrast here between Bhaga and Indra since these seem to be terms referring to the same god. The second example is in the context of mantras for offering the rice cake. The first offering was made to Agni. The offering is made with the desire that the sacrificers might be blessed with whatever they request as they sacrifice. After this general statement, the special desire, namely, the 'mastery of wealth', is indicated in our second example. For emphasizing the special request, EIC has been used.

*pāvamānyāḥ punantu mā # (1. 4. 8. 6)* 'May the Soma hymns cleanse me.'

*punāntu mā devajanāḥ || (1. 4. 8. 1)* 'May the host of gods purify me.'

Both examples are from Soma Pavamāna hymns. The second example seems to have a specification which the first example does not. It is first stated in general terms that whoever is pure is to cleanse the suppliant. Then it is specified, in our second example standing next to the general statement in the corpus, that the gods are to purify. For this specification EIC was selected.

*yājamānam devā + abruvan # (3. 3. 8. 5)* 'The gods spoke to the institutor.'

*tē 'bruvannāngirasa+ādityān* || (2. 2. 3. 6) 'The Aṅgirases spoke to the Ādityas.'

The first example is from the section on 'Eating of the Puroḍāśa rice cake.' The gods ask the institutor to offer them the oblation. The example is a plain statement. The second example in the set is from the section on 'Praises of the Caturhotra mantras etc.', relating the anecdote in praise of Aditya. The Ādityas had sacrificed before the Aṅgirases and thereby had already procured a place in heaven. To show the contrast between them and the Aṅgirases who had not obtained the heaven, the word order is chosen in this way which requires the EIC.

*śānnah tapatu sūryah* # (3. 7. 10. 5) 'May the Sun shine (as it may be) to our happiness.'

*śām vāto + vātvarapāh* || (3. 7. 10. 5) 'May the wind blow unscathed.'

Our examples are in sequence in the text. The second example has a word which emphasizes the meaning, namely, the way the wind is requested to blow. Without this word, the second example would also have NIC. The emphasis is therefore shown by placing this word at the end.

*purodhāmevā gacchati* # (2. 7. 1. 3) 'He attains priesthood.'

*gacchati pratiṣṭhām* || (3. 11. 7. 3) 'He attains stability.'

The first example is from the section which describes how Bṛhaspati became the priest of the gods. It is then said that if anyone desires to become the priest, he would certainly attain to priesthood by sacrificing in the Bṛhaspati sacrifice. The word *evā* emphasizes the certainty of the result. Otherwise, there is no contrast here of the result with any other result. In the second example, on the other hand, a contrast is indicated. The example is from the section on the 'Philosophy of the Naciketa fire'. The advantages of thinking about fire as having gold for its receptacle are given. The example in question is the second advantage, the first being the attainment of an abode. The stability, *pratiṣṭhā*, which is also gained, is emphasized. The object word therefore occupies an unexpected position in the clause as may be seen clearly from its position in the first example.

*śūdrā + evā nā duhyāt* # (3.2.3.9) 'Śūdra alone shall not milk'.

*agnihotrāmevā nā duhyācchūdrāh* || (3.2.3.9) 'Śūdra shall not milk for the Agnihotra only'.

In the section on 'Milking at night,' after several injunctions, such as the number of pails required and observance of silence while milking the cattle, there is a 'prohibition' against using a wooden pail in milking, which is later modified. Next to this modified rule, the first example above occurs and prohibits a śūdra from milking the cattle. Since this is a prohibition in general terms, NIC alone was sufficient, to indicate the meaning of the clause. Later, in the same sequence the prohibition is made to apply only to milk required for the Agnihotra ceremony. Since a specification was to be made in regard to the prohibition enjoined on milking the cattle by a śūdra, EIC was useful in indicating this contrast. In the second clause, the word 'śūdra' was really unnecessary since it followed a clause which contains the word. Since the prohibition in both cases is for the śūdra's milking, the use of the word in the first occurrence alone would have been sufficient. Later, since the prohibition was modified, emphasis was placed on Agnihotra by the use of the accompanying particle *evā*. Since the word Agnihotra occupied the first position, the word śūdra was placed at the end where it would require an EIC. The order of the words is therefore conditioned by considerations of intonation.

In the examples cited above, we have supported the assumption of an emphatic intonation contour from the contexts in which it was utilized. Further examples bear out the emphatic meaning by including particles with the EIC. *E.g.:*

*muhūrtāḥ prēṣyā + abhavan #* (3.12.9.6) 'The Muhūrtas became the handmaids'.

*mṛtyuśtādabhavaddhātā* || (3.12.9.6) 'The god of death became the establisher'.

Both the above examples are from the section in which the sacrifice by the Viśvasṛjas is described. In that sacrifice, each of the gods assumed a certain role. Our examples are in sequence. The word *tād* may be an asseverative adverb in the second example, though the commentary explains *tād* as referring to the sacrifice. The contrast is indicated in the positions that the Muhūrtas and the god of death chose for themselves in the sacrifice. Death's becoming the establisher is contrasted with the Muhūrtas assuming the role of handmaids in the sacrifices.

Similar examples from the same context can be cited. Thus, in the instances quoted below, the asseverative particle *svayám* is placed in the clause at the end, to indicate contrast :

*bráhma brahmábhavat svayám* || (3. 12. 9. 3) 'Brahman himself became the priest, Brahman.'

*śraddhá haiváyajat svayám* || (3. 12. 9. 5) 'Faith herself sacrificed.'

In our second example, besides *svayám*, we also have *haivá* (*ha* + *evá*), which are emphasizing particles.

We have, thus, assumed two intonation contours, NIC and EIC, and noted the evidence for the EIC on the basis of (1) modulated word order and (2) asseverative adverbs. In certain instances, both kinds of evidence are present and we have cited evidence from the context for the selection of a particular intonation contour.

We may now examine other patterns with NIC and EIC, individually, and suggest reasons for the selection of one over the other. We may take up patterns with EIC, first :

*diví mūrdhánam dadhiṣe suvarṣám* || (3. 5. 7. 1) '(You) held (your) head in heaven (which brings) good rain.'

Emphasis is given here to the attribute which justifies the head (of Agni) being in heaven. Good rain in the case of Agni might refer to his abundant bestowing nature. Such 'specific' words are usually kept at the end of the clause. To take another example :

*rāṣṭrī devānām niṣasāda mandrā* || (2. 4. 6. 11) 'The queen of the gods sat pleasantly.'

This example is from a mantra addressed to the goddess of speech (*Vāk*). She is invited to be present at the sacrifice and she sits through it, very much pleased. Her attitude of pleasure is especially important for the sacrificer. The EIC resulting when the word *mandrā* is placed at the end of the clause underlines this meaning.

When such specification was not necessary, as in the following example, the word *mandrā* is placed within the clause :

*hótā mandró + niṣasādā yájīyān* # (3.6.10.3) 'The pleasant hotar sat ( in the sacrificial house) worshipping excellently.'

In a context where different gods are invoked, our example is next to a pattern with NIC which is a request to Agni to provide (good things) for his, *i.e.*, the sacrificer's home. In the hope that they will carry out this prayer, the Aśvins are requested to enjoy the Soma juice :

*áśvinā + píbatam sutám* || (2.7.12.1) 'O Aśvins, drink the Soma juice'.

Where, again, specification was not intended, we have the normal intonation, as in the following example :

*indrah sómam pibatu* # (3.7.7.1) 'May Indra drink the Soma juice'.

Similar reasons may have caused the relevant words being placed at the end of the clause and, thereby, indicate emphasis, as in the following examples :

*dūrámasmáccchátravo+yantu bhītāḥ* || (3.1.1.11) 'May our enemies fly far away frightened'.

*imánnō+yajñámúpayāhi vidván* || (2.4.1.1) 'O wise one, come to this our sacrifice'.

*sá + vindatu yájamānāya lokám* || (3.7.6.13) 'May he (the Veda) obtain a special place for the institutor'.

Here, in the first two passages, the words *bhītāḥ* and *vidván* specify, respectively, an important quality of the subject, and in the third passage, the word *lokám* specifies the kind of place. They are, therefore, placed at the end to support the emphasis conveyed by EIC.

Now, the first of the above passages occurs in continuation of several other clauses in a corpus in which the gods are invoked for the fulfilment of desires. In the preceding clause, the gods are asked to grant the desire that the sacrificers might cross over all distress. Then follows the clause in question with its specific request for driving the enemies away. A specific statement which follows a general statement seems to be a favoured location for an EIC, as we noticed earlier.

In contrast to the example discussed above, the following with NIC may be noted :

*vāsubhyo + yajñām prābravīmi # (3.7.4.6)* 'I will dedicate the sacrifice to the Vasus'.

The object word in this example occupies the usual position before verb, while in the earlier example it occurs after the verb, since it specified the meaning.

Similar specification may be noted also in the following examples.

*sā+rāja rājyámānumanyatāmidām || (2.7.15.2)* 'May the king accept this kingdom.'

*pitēva putrámabhírakṣatādimām || (1.2.1.11)* 'May you protect this institutor as a father his son'.

The first example here is from the section on the Coronation ceremony in which the king is asked to accept the kingdom, specifically *this* particular kingdom.

The two following example have EIC to indicate a contrast to their preceding clauses in the text :

*bṛhaspáti+nah páripātu paścāt || (3.1.1.5)* 'May Bṛhaspati guard us from behind'.

Bṛhaspati guards from behind as opposed to Tisya who protects from the front as well as from the middle.

*ṛtūnūtsṛjate vasi || (2.4.1.10)* 'The self-controlled discharges the seasons (well)'.

The above clause in the text tells how this 'self-controlled' had become well known in the whole world. This clause has an NIC.

We may now attempt to specify the functions of the intonation contours illustrated by the above examples.

Syntactic patterns indicating 'statements' are possible either with NIC or with EIC. For example :

*tām devāḥ púnarayācanta # (1.3.10.1)* 'The gods requested him again'.

*daivīm vācamajanayanta devāḥ || (2.4.6.10)* 'The gods uttered the divine speech'.

The second of the above two examples, with EIC, is interpreted in the commentary as : "The gods generated the goddess of speech." The accompanying clause in the text states that this speech created by gods was used by human beings as well as other creatures in several different ways.

For examples with NIC indicating 'statement', one may note the following :

*devā + dūtām cakrire havyavāham # (1.2.1.12)* 'The gods appointed Agni as (their) messenger'.

*tébhya + etádbhāgadhéyam prāyacchan # (2.1.1.2)* '(They) gave this share to them'.

*vāg + vāi devānām purānnamāsīt # (1.3.5.1)* 'Speech indeed was formerly the food of the gods'.

NIC is used also in clauses indicating 'questions' E.g. :

*kāsmai nū satrāmāsmahe # (2.1.1.1)* 'For what purpose shall we perform sacrifice ?'

*kúta + ájatā+kúta+iyám vísṛṣṭih # (2.8.9.5)* 'Whence are (these) born, whence is this creation ?'

*kó + māmannam manuṣyo + dayeta # (2.8.8.2)* 'Which man might check me, god of food ?'

As we have noticed above, EIC is found also in questions, as in the following :

*ámbhah kímāśidgáhanam gabhīrám II (2.8.9.4)* 'Was there water impenetrable and unfathomable ?'

*kásya vā hedám || (1.6.6.4)* 'Whose indeed is this ?'

The clauses with *iti*, which are quotations, are found only with NIC. E.g. :

*kā + idāmitthámakaríti # (2.1.1.2)* 'Who did it this way ?'

*prāśyām3 ná prāśyā3míti # (1.3.10.6)* 'Should this be eaten or not ?'

The second example above is in the context in which divided opinions on the eating of the remains in the container of the funeral cake are quoted. The commentary explains that *pluti* is employed in this to indicate discrimination (*vicārārthā plutiḥ*). Further, it

explains that if the remains are eaten the institutor may die. If the remains are not eaten, the funeral cake will not be an offering, since in other instances the remains of the offering are always eaten. Since one or the other misfortune would happen by eating, smelling of the remains is suggested, since smelling is not eating.

Similarly, *pluti* is employed for the same purpose in the following example :

*dvādaśāratnī raśanā kartavyā3 trāyodāśāratnī3riti # (3.8.3.3)*  
'Should the rope be made 12 elbow-lengths or 13 ?'

This example is from the section on 'Tying the horse with the rope', where there is a discussion on the length of the rope to be used for the horse. Here again, authorities differ. The reason for each opinion is first given and the length of the rope for the horse then determined.

NIC is used in syntactic patterns which are 'injunctions' *vasāntā brāhmaṇo + 'gnimādadhīta # (1. 1. 2. 6)* 'A brahmin should kindle Agni in the spring.'

*nā striyamūpeyāt # (1. 1. 9. 7)* 'He should not approach the woman.'

*kṛttikāsvagnimādadhīta # (1. 1. 2. 1)* 'Agni should be kindled in the Kṛttikā constellation.'

*agnim devatānām prathamām yājet # (3. 7. 1. 8)* '(One should) worship Agni before other gods.'

In the following example, the subject word was not necessary in the clause to convey the meaning. It has to be assumed that it was included to express emphasis :

*śamīm śāntyai harāmyahām || (1. 2. 1. 7)* 'I carry the Śami tree for the extinction (of the fire).'

The context here is the praise of the Śami tree for its cooling nature. It is stated that Prajāpati himself had used this tree for putting out the heat of the fire (his own creation). The institutor of the sacrifice carries such a tree to the sacrificial grounds, both for purposes of cooling the earlier heat (from the sacrifice) and also to put out the fire at the current sacrifice. Similarity between an act of Prajāpati and that of the institutor of sacrifice is indicated. Without the subject word *ahām* at the end, we would not have the necessary IC to express this similarity.

In the same manner, in the following clauses also, the word *ahám* at the end implies emphasis :

*ubháu lokáu sanemahám* || (1. 2. 1. 15) 'I obtain both the worlds.'  
*áti mṛtyúm tarāmyahám* || (1. 2. 1. 15) 'I escape death.'

The accompanying clauses in the text tell us the reason for the certainty of the result expressed in our examples. By kindling fire with pieces of wood, one obtains both worlds. Since the institutor has been doing this, he is certain to obtain the result. To emphasize that 'he' would get what he expected and hoped for, for having done the necessary acts, the subject, which bears the *udātta*, was apparently placed at the end. In the second example, it is explained what he would accomplish after obtaining the two worlds.

The following example is an 'injunction'; the subject word *sáh* is, therefore, consciously omitted and we find the usual NIC on the injunction type of clause :

*gáṛhapatyam manthet* # (1. 4. 4. 7) 'One should stir up the Gáṛhapatya fire.'

Another instance where it may be suggested that EIC was deliberately avoided is provided in the following example :

*índraya niṣkásáṁ nyadadhuḥ* # (1. 6. 7. 3) 'They paid gold to Indra.'

Since the above is a plain statement with no emphasis, merely explaining what the gods did after worshipping with the domestic sacrifice, we do not expect an EIC.

Several kinds of dependent clauses are noted in the corpus. When clauses in sequence form a single compound syntactic unit, they usually have the same IC in both. E.g. :

*sálkairagnímindhānáḥ* || *ubháu lokáu sanemahám* || (1. 2. 1. 15)  
 'Kindling Agni with pieces of fuel, I obtain both the worlds.'

The prerequisite for obtaining both worlds is indicated in the first clause. I consider this to be dependent, since it requires a clause which follows to complete the syntactic pattern and the semantic, content. Similarly :

*udháyor + lokáyor + ṛdhvā ॥ áti mṛtyúm tarāmyahám ॥*  
(1. 2. 1. 15) 'Thriving in both the worlds, I escape death.'

In the following, both parts have NIC :

*āhavaniyamudvāpya # gārhapatyam manthet # (1. 4. 4. 7) 'Having kindled the Āhavaniya fire, one should stir up Gārhapatya fire.'*

The dependent clause may also have an EIC, while the following clause has an NIC :

*té devā gr̥hamedhīyeneṣtvā ॥ īndrāya niṣkāsām nyadadhuḥ #*  
(1. 6. 7. 3) 'The gods, having worshipped with the domestic sacrifice, paid gold to Indra'.

Another kind of dependent clause is illustrated in the following. Here, again, the clauses in question are in sequence, and both have NIC. The second clause, however, is syntactically dependent on the preceding clause :

*tāṁ no + devāso ānujānantu kāmam # yāthā tārema duritāni vīśvā # (3. 1. 1. 11) 'May gods grant us that desire as we may pass through all distress'.*

The clause with *yāthā* is preceded by several clauses which indicate the requests to each god for a certain accomplishment. Then all the gods are jointly invoked to grant that favour by which the worshippers will be able to pass through all distress. Since this is not possible without the earlier granting of such a boon by the gods, the meaning is dependent on that of the preceding clause, a similar syntactic relationship has to be assumed. The following is another example of the same phenomenon :

*st̄ no + yajñāsyā suvitē dadhātu # yāthā jīvema śarādassāvīrāḥ #*  
(3.1.1.2) 'May she put us on the prosperous path of sacrifice so that we may live years with male progeny'.

Clauses indicating 'condition' (protasis) have EIC, while the clauses indicating the 'result' (apodosis) have NIC. The following examples illustrate this :

*yát stríyamupeyát || nírvíryassyāt #* (1.1.9.7) 'If he were to approach a woman, he might become impotent.'

*yádi híraṇyam ná vindét || śárkarā + akitā + úpadadhyāt #* (3.12.5.12) 'If he were not to obtain gold, he might use anointed ground sugar'.

Alternate coordinate clauses are found with EIC, as in the following examples :

*jáhāmyanyám ná jahāmyanyám ||* (2.8.8.1) 'I abandon one but do not abandon the other'.

The god of food, expressing his partiality for the giver of food, makes this utterance which states that he would abandon the person who does not give food to others but would be partial to the giver of food. Emphasis on the rejected and on the accepted, as well as the contrast between the two, favours EIC to express the intended meaning. Similarly :

*yádi vā dadhē yádi vā ná ||* (2.8.9.6) 'If I place or if I do not'.

Alternate coordinate clauses, both with negative implication, use NIC. E.g.:

*náitádbhúyo + bhávati nó + kánīyah #* (2.8.8.2) 'Neither does it become more or less'.

*ná tā + naśanti ná dadhāti táskarah #* (2.4.6.9) 'Neither do they perish nor does the thief deceive (them)'.

*násadasīnnó + sádāsīttadánīm #* (2.8.9.3) 'Neither was there being nor non-being at that time'.

The corpus I have used consists primarily of narration and descriptions of sacrificial details and events, where it is difficult to find contrasts illustrating the two intonation contours in all their varying uses. I have, however, pointed out some contrasts ; others would become clear from a study of additional Vedic material. A detailed analysis of intonation contours in contemporary

Indic dialects, by the application of the comparative method, could be helpful to confirm the postulations made in this paper and also provide additional information on Intonation Contours in Vedic.<sup>11</sup>

14. This paper is a revised version of a chapter from the author's Doctoral Dissertation submitted to and accepted by the University of Texas, U. S. A., in 1962. The author is grateful to Dr. W. P. Lehmann who guided him in his research work.

## APROPOS OF THE VEDIC SEER GAURIVĪTI\*

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Among the Ṛgvedic ṛṣi families, the Vasiṣṭha family has a distinct place. The seventh Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda has been attributed to Vasiṣṭha. But there are certain seers of this family to whom the hymns belonging to other Maṇḍalas have also been ascribed. These are Śakti, Parāśara, Gaurivīti etc. Gaurivīti is the son of Śakti and the grandson of Vasiṣṭha.

Gaurivīti Śāktya<sup>1</sup> (hereafter G) is the seer of *RV* 5.29; 9.108.1-2 and 10.73-74. Of these 9.108.1-2 and 10.73.11 are repeated in the *Sāmaveda* (*SV*), and *RV* 10.73.1, 74.4 in the *Śukla-Yajurveda* (*SYV*).<sup>2</sup> *RV* 5.29 and 10.73-74 are meant to invoke Indra and 9.108.1-2 are addressed to Pavamāna Soma. G has been mentioned as the son of Śakti by *Sarvā*, *Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa* (*TMB*), *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (*JB*) and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*SB*).<sup>3</sup> In *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa* (*ĀB*), G is mentioned along with Vasiṣṭha and Śakti, and because Vasiṣṭha was the father of Śakti and G was the son of Śakti, G is, naturally, the grandson of Vasiṣṭha. However, we do not find anywhere any legend about the birth and details of the life of G. He seems to be an elder brother of Parāśara, who was born after the death of his father Śakti.

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1. See *Sarvānukramaṇī* (*Sarvā*) on *RV* 5.29; 9.108; 10.73, 74
2. See *SV* 319, 578, 692-93; *SYV* 33.28, 64.
3. See *Sarvā*. on *RV* 9.108; *TMB* 11.5.14, 12.13.10, 25.7.2; *JB* 76, 170, 197; *SB* 12.8.3.7; *ĀB* 1.18.
4. *ĀB* 1.14, 2.3, 6.

The name G occurs once *RV*,<sup>5</sup> with Ṛjiśvan, the son of Vidathin, and Pipru. There it is stated that the adorations of G made Indra mighty, and Ṛjiśvan made friendship with Indra and the latter had drunk *soma* offered by him. In the next verse it has been mentioned that Navagvas and Daśagvas with libations of Soma-juice sing hymns of praise to Indra. According to Griffith “Ṛjiśvan is the son of Vidathin, and is mentioned in Maṇḍala I as a favourite of Indra.”<sup>6</sup> Navagvas and Daśagvas are “priestly families connected or identified with the Aṅgirases”. Pipru “is the name of a foe of Indra in the *RV*. He was repeatedly defeated by Indra for Ṛjiśvan”.<sup>7</sup> These names are not corroborated by later literature.

The name G occurs thrice in *KāṭhS*,<sup>8</sup> twice as Gaurivīta and once as Gorivīta. But the name occurs in six different forms in *Brāhmaṇa-s* and *Sūtra-s*, viz., Gaurivīti,<sup>9</sup> Gaurivīta,<sup>10</sup> Gaurivīti,<sup>11</sup> Gaurivīta,<sup>12</sup> Gorivīta<sup>13</sup> and Gauravīta.<sup>14</sup> These variations in the name are referred to in connection with the Gaurivīti-Sāman (hereafter GS) which came to be named after him and will be discussed in detail below. The variations in the name might raise a doubt, viz., that there might have been several persons bearing names similar to G. It is also generally held that the Ḍgvedic Seer G was different from the Sāman-Seer G. It can however be shown that such an assumption is unwarranted.

First, in the *Brāhmaṇa-s* and *Sūtra-s* the name of the Seer is, no doubt, mentioned in different forms, but all these are only in connection with the particular Sāman which is attributed to G. When the Sāman is one and the same, and so are its qualities,

5. *RV* 5. 29. 11.

6. *The Hymns of the Rgveda*, Vol. I, p. 489.

7. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, p. 532.

8. *KāṭhS* 30.7.

9. *JB* 70, 197; *ApSS* 13.11.16.

10. *JB* 170; *AB* 3.19, 4.2, 8.2; *TB*. 1.4.5.2; *ApSS* 12.5.6, 14.18.6, 10, 14, 21.13.22, 24.10.8; *Bau. SS* 14.25.

11. *TMB* 11.5.14, 12.13.10, 25.7.2; *JB* 76, 203; *SB* 12.8.3.7.

12. *TMB* 5.7.1, 2, 5, 6.8.2, 9.2-4, 7.6, 9, 10, 11.5.13, 15, 11.10.17, 12.5.17, 13.9.10, 12, 13.5.16, 11.16.14.5.20, 11.24, 15.5.21, 9.16-17, 18.6.18-20; *JB* 76, 168. *AB* 1.14, 18-19, 2.3, 6; *Lat. SS*. 4.6.14, 10.3.12, 8.9; *MaSS* 3.7.9; *DrāhSS* 8.2.18.

13. *KāṭhS* 30.7.

14. *AB* 1.19.

then, how can one doubt the identity of the person to whom it is ascribed ? Secondly, the R̄gvedic seer G bears the epithet 'Śāktya' as his patronymic. At the same time, the Sāman-Seer also bears the patronymic 'Śāktya', with a slight difference in spelling of G. It occurs at several places in *TMB*, *JB*, *AB*, *SB*, *ĀB*, *ĀpSS* and *ĀsSS*.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, it can be asserted that G, the Sāman-Seer, whose father's name was Śakti, was none else but Gauriviti Śāktya, the seer of certain R̄gvedic hymns.

Sāyaṇa, while commenting on *TMB* 11. 5. 14, has taken into account the reading *Gauriviti*. He explains the formation of this word as *Gurīvitasyāpatyam gaurīvitam* ; *Sāktyanāmā*. He says so because he thinks that the form *Gauriviti* is the correct name of the seer. He has also explained the term *Śāktya* as 'Śaktigotrah'. But this statement of his is contradictory to his own statement in the commentary on *RV* 9.108, where he has said : *adyadvṛcasya Gaurivitir nāma Śaktiputra rṣih*. Again, he continues : *trtīyāyāḥ Śaktirnāma Vāsiṣṭhah*. All this clearly indicates that G was the son of Śakti Vāsiṣṭha.

The *Vācaspatyam* interprets the expression *gaurī* to mean the Vedic speech and thus the word *gauriviti* means 'he who has a thorough knowledge (lit. motion) in the Vedic speech, i.e., in the Vedas.'<sup>16</sup> The final syllable of the word *gaurī* is shortened vide *nyāpoḥ sañjñā chandasor bahulam* (*Pāṇini* 6.3.63).<sup>17</sup> Thus we get the form *gaurivīti*, instead of the form *gaurīvīti*.

Now, we shall consider the nature of the Sāman which is attributed to G. The two verses beginning with *pavasva madhumattama*

15. *TMB* 11.5.14, 12.13.10, 25.7.2 ; *JB* 76, 170, 197 ; *AB* 3.19 ; *SB* 12.8.3.7 ; *AB* 1.18 ; *ĀpSS* 23.11.14, 24.10.8 ; *ĀsSS* 12.5.6.

16. Taranatha Bhattacharya, *Vācaspatyam*, p. 2739 :

गौर्य्ये वेदवाचि वीतिः विशेषगतिरस्य “ङ्यापोरिति” संज्ञायां हस्तः । शक्तिमुनिपुत्रे ऋषिभेदे ।

17. G.B. Palsule, 'Samjñayām in Pāṇini', *JUPHS*, No. 25, p. 54, translates this *sūtra* as follows :

"Before a second member of a compound, the final vowel of stems ending in the (feminine) suffixes—*ñi* and *ap* is shortened 'generally' in the case of a *samjñā*; (also) if the word occurs in the Veda (without being a *samjñā*).

*indrāya...*(RV 9.108.1-2) and repeated as SV 578, 692, were sung and set to tune by G, so that that Sāman came to be known as GS. In SV it is attributed to G. This Sāman has been mentioned and elaborated in the *Samhitā-s*, the *Brāhmaṇa-s* and the *Sūtra-s*. It will, now, be proper to discuss the said Sāman text in order to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the GS.

The characteristics of the GS are recorded in *TMB*.<sup>18</sup> The Gods crushed the *Vāk* and its expelled essence is GS, which sways or moves towards *anuṣṭubh*. *Vāk* is *anuṣṭubh*. If a person prays everyday with GS, she bestows happiness on him. The GS is the fortune or the good future of the sacrifice. The person who does not pray with this Sāman will be deprived of prosperity and progeny. The verse '*pra va indrāya mādanam...*' is also chanted in the tune of GS.

Also, it is laid down that, if the Soma juice is left as surplus after the mid-day pressing, an additional *stotra* should be chanted with the verses containing the word 'āditya' and set in tune by G.<sup>19</sup> In case it is left over after the third pressing an additional *stotra* should be chanted with verses containing the word 'śipiviṣṭa' (*Viṣṇu*) and set in tune by G.<sup>20</sup> The sacrifice itself is *Viṣṇu*, who is pervaded by rays both inside and outside. GS is redundant.<sup>21</sup> It also becomes 'śoḍaśi Sāman'. Both of these came into being from surplus material of *Vāk*. GS is repeated in sacrifice and it is sung in a low tone.<sup>22</sup>

In *KāthS*<sup>23</sup> it is stated that the gods crushed the *Brahma* (*Vāk* or the Vedic lore) and whatever remained after crushing, that redundant material became GS. It controls the uncontrollable calamities. The person who prays with this Sāman gets home, health etc.

18. *TMB* 5.7.1-6, 9.2.2, 12.13.10, 12, 25.7.2.

19. *Ibid.*, 9.7.6, यदि माध्यन्दिनात्सवनादतिरिच्येत् 'बण्महौ असि सूर्ये'त्यादित्य-वतीषु गौरीवितेन स्तुयुः ।

20. *Ibid.*, 9.7.10, यदि तृतीयसवनादतिरिच्येत् विष्णोः शिपिविष्टवतीषु गौरीवितेन स्तुयुः ।

21. *Ibid.*, 9.7.10.

22. *Ibid.*, 18.6.18-20.

23. *Op. cit.*, 30.7.

The same thing is found in *JB*.<sup>24</sup> The sacrifice performed with GS makes one prosperous in future. Also, one gets cattle, heaven, progeny etc. by virtue of using that Sāman. Moreover, it is the means by which one can find happiness in life here and in heaven. Gods love him who practises the GS.<sup>25</sup>

The *JB*<sup>26</sup> gives a legend on G : [here was a sacrifice performed by the Śāktyas. There Gauriviti Śāktya killed a beast. The eagle Suparṇa (or good-winged one) attacked it from above. G caught hold of the eagle. Then the eagle requested : "O Ṛṣi ! do not catch hold of me. I shall teach you the good prospects to be got through sacrifices." Then he taught the same to G. These prospects got through sacrifice, are progeny cattle and heaven. Those who prayed with GS got all these things.

There is another legend in *JB*,<sup>27</sup> which runs as follows : In the sacrificial session of the Śāktyas, Gauriviti Śāktya killed a beast and the eagle Suparṇa attacked it. When G caught hold of him, he requested the Ṛṣi not to trouble him. The eagle said : "I shall fulfill any of your desires. Then G asked if he knew his desire. The eagle replied that he (G) had been longing for the daughter of Asita Dhāmnya and that he (the eagle) would take G to her. Asita Dhāmnya had been offended with G. His place was in the air, where he had concealed his daughter. The eagle carried G to the daughter. She gave birth to a child. The demons cut the child to pieces and scattered those pieces. G saw a Sāman, through which the child returned to life. This child became Saṅkṛiti Gauriviti. Hence, GS is a kind of expiatory medicine.

Thus, in these two legeds, it is shown that the GS hast he power of bestowing health, wealth, Heaven, etc.

At another place in *JB*,<sup>28</sup> it is mentioned that G was *prostotri* in the *sattrā* of Vibhindukiyas. Here, he is mentioned with Medhātithi, Dṛḍhacyud-Agasti, Acyutacyut, Vasukṣaya and, Sanaka and Navaka.

According to *AB*,<sup>29</sup> Gauriviti Śāktya went near heaven and there he saw this hymn and by this hymn he won the heaven. In the same

24. *JB* 76.

25. *Ibid.*, 168.

26. *Ibid.*, 170.

27. *Ibid.*, 197.

28. *Ibid.*, 203.

29. *AB* 3.19.

way the *yajamāna* also would win heaven through this hymn. The GS wins over the enemy.<sup>30</sup>

G was the priest of R̄shabha-Yājñatura according to *SB*.<sup>31</sup> The characteristics and potentialities referred to above relating to GS are mentioned also in several other texts like *TB*, *ApSS*, *LātSS*, *MāSS*, and *DrāhSS*.<sup>32</sup>

The various *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* texts give us the following picture of the GS and the seer.

G was a *RV* ṛṣi and the son of Śakti Vasiṣṭha. Three Ḍgvedic verses are chanted on the tune of GS. These are : 'pra va indraya mādanam' (*RV* 7.31.1; *SV* 156, 716); 'bañmahāṁ asi sūrya' (*RV* 8.101.11; *SV* 276; 1788) and 'asti somo ayaṁ sutah' (*RV* 8.94.4.; *SV* 174, 1785). GS became a notable Sāman and these texts mentioned it as the excellence of *Brahman* or *Vāk*. Two or three legends also suggest its divine nature. One who chants this Sāman never lacks in health, wealth, cattle, progeny, home and heaven. He can get any of these things by the use of this Sāman.

As regards the seer of this Sāman, as noticed above at length, G was a reputed priest according to *SB* and *JB*. At several places, as in *JB* and *ApSS*,<sup>33</sup> he is mentioned with Saṅkṛti. In the legend given above from *JB*, Saṅkṛti seems to be his son. There were three *pravaras* of Saṅkṛti Pūtimāṣa among the Vasiṣṭhas—Śāktya, Saṅkṛtya and Gaurivita.<sup>34</sup> Pūtimāṣa seems to be his surname. According to Brough all these three belonged to the family of Vasiṣṭha.<sup>35</sup>

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find no reference to G. But we have a single reference to him in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, wherein he is noticed as a sage not having marriage alliances with Aṅgirases and Saṅkṛti.<sup>36</sup>

30. *Ibid.*, 4.2.

31. *SB* 12.8.3.7.

32. *TB* 1.4.5.2.; *ApSS* 14.18.6, 10, 14, 21.13.22; *LātSS* 4.6.14, 10.3.12., 8.12; *MāSS* 3.7.9; *BauSS* 14.25; *DrāhSS* 8.2.18.

33. *JB* 197; *ApSS* 12.5.6-7, 24.10.8.

34. *ApSS* 12.5.6-7; 24.10.8.

35. John Brough, *The early Brahmanical system of Gotra and Pravara*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 37.

36. *Matsya Purāṇa*, (Anandashrama, Poona, 1907), 196. 32.

Pargiter<sup>37</sup> mentions that Saṅkṛti and G were one and the same person. Again, he is not definite whether G belonged to the Vasiṣṭhas or to the Aṅgirases. But it must be remembered that Vasiṣṭhas and Aṅgirases were interconnected as is shown by Mankad.<sup>38</sup> Saṅkṛti and G, again, were the *pravara ṛṣi-s* in the Vasiṣṭha family as shown above. It appears probable, therefore, that Saṅkṛti was the son of G as stated in the legend in *JB*.

Thus a study of all the pertinent references to the seer and his Sāman in the *Samhitā-s Brāhmaṇa-s*, and *Sūtra-s*, leads us to the following conclusions :

(1) G was the son of Śakti and the grandson of Vasiṣṭha. Perhaps he was the elder brother of Parāśara I. Saṅkṛti seems to be the son of G.

(2) The correct form of his name is Gauriviti and not Gauriviti, Gorivita, Gauravita etc.

(3) Apart from being a seer of certain Ṛgvedic hymns, he was a prominent Sāman seer. The Sāmans came to be known after his name. The Ṛgvedic seer and the Sāman seer are one and the same, namely, Gauriviti Śāktya.

(4) He belongs to the Vasiṣṭhas, who were Aṅgirases as well. He is mentioned in the *pravara* list of Vasiṣṭhas. Therefore, it is immaterial whether G belonged to the Vasiṣṭhas or the Aṅgirases.<sup>39</sup>

37. *AIHT* p. 249.

38. *Date of Ṛgveda*, pp. 86-88. Also corroborated by Rahurkar, *vide* his *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, p. 235.

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THE VEDIC CONCEPT OF *YUGA*  
CONSISTING OF FIVE YEARS\*

By

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The concept of *yuga* as a period of time can be traced back to the R̄gvedic hymns, but no definite length to this period seems to be intended in these references. It is *Vedaṅga Jyotiṣa* that, for the first time, states that a *yuga* consists of five years,<sup>1</sup> though, even before that such a meaning should have been prevalent. The present paper attempts to trace the origin of Vedic notion of *yuga* as a cycle of five years to certain types of Cāturmāsya sacrifices which extended over a period of five years.

**The concept of *yuga***

The term *yuga* is rather vague and, as such, different meanings have been assigned to this word. Eleven different meanings of this word have been noted by Roth and Bohtlingk in their *Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup> This word is derived from the root *yuj* 'to unite, join, connect,' and, hence *yuga* means a certain fixed period. The purāṇic literature has assigned a lengthy period to this term and associate it with Manvantara, Kalpa, Māhāyuga etc. Scholars are at variance in their views about chronological eras in ancient India. According to C. V. Vaidya,<sup>3</sup> there was no era in use in Ancient

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1. Cf. *Bhāratīyajyotiṣaśāstraśāstra Itihāsa* by S. B. Dixit, (Poona 1931,) p. 27 : "The *yuga* consisting of five years and the names of these five years have been mentioned in the Post-Vedic literature. But, for this concept of *yuga* there must be some traditional base in the Vedic Texts."

2. *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, (St. Petersburg, 1871), Vol. VI, pp. 144-45.

3. See his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Sn. I, pp. 2-4.

India. S. B. Dixit states that the dimensions of *yuga* were already settled before the Astronomical Siddhāntas came into existence, but that their starting point was not so settled.<sup>4</sup> K. L. Daftari, however, affirms that "some system of *yugas* which was used for narrating history was in existence in very ancient times."<sup>5</sup> It may, however, be noted that no Brāhmaṇa-text has mentioned the word *yuga* as denoting a particular period of time.

The word *yuga* occurs at least 33 times in the *Rgveda*, though its exact meaning is not always clear. In some places it appears to stand for a very brief period of time and elsewhere a longer period. Two systems of *yuga*, namely, divine and human, are referred to therein. A reference is made to a divine *yuga* in *RV* 10. 72. 1-3, while that of a human *yuga* is noted in many other places.<sup>6</sup> The reference to *yuga* occurring in *RV* 1.158.6, is particularly worth mentioning. There it is said that "Dirghatamas, the son of Mamatā became old in the tenth *yuga*." (cf., *Dirghatamā māmateyo jujurvān daśame yuge*). What *yuga* means here is not very clear. The commentators have not given a definite meaning this word and it is found that the modern scholars have also interpreted this word differently. This verse is quoted in *Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka* 2. 17; while translating the relevant passage, A. B. Keith has remarked in the footnote: *RV* 1.158.6 presumably really means 'in the tenth decade'.<sup>7</sup> Wilson remarks on the word *yuga*: "The scholiast understands *yuga* in its ordinary acceptation; but the *yuga* of five years is perhaps intended, a *lustrum*, which would be nothing marvellous."<sup>8</sup> Daftari, however, considers that 'yuga, here, means a period of four years'.<sup>9</sup> While interpreting the same verse, P. V. Kane remarks:<sup>10</sup> "yuga probably means a period

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

5. *The astronomical method and its application to the chronology of ancient India*, by K. L. Daftari, (Nagpur, 1942), p. 134.

6. Cf., *RV* 1.12.11; 114.4; 2.2.2; 5.52.4; 73.3; 6.16.23; 7.9.4; 9.12.7; 10.140.6.

7. *Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka* by A. B. Keith, (London, 1908), p. 14. See also, *Vedic Index*, (Ind. Rep., Delhi, 1958), Vol. II, p. 192.

8. *Rgveda*, (Poona, 1925), Vol. II, p. 254.

9. Daftari, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

10. *History of Dharmashastra*, Vol. III, p. 886.

of four or five years." In his monumental work, *The Arctic home in the Vedas*, B.G. Tilak identifies Dirghatamas with the sun and considers *yuga* as the period of time between the first and the last dawn. As regards the interpretation of the phrase *daśame yuge* he remarks : "Ten *yugas* were supposed to intervene between the first and the last dawn, or the two termini, of the years ; as ten days or ten fortnights would be too short, and ten seasons too long a period of time to lie between these limits, the word *yuga* in the phrase *daśame yuge*, must be interpreted to mean 'a month' and nothing else. In short, Dirghatamas was the sun that grew old in the tenth month."<sup>11</sup> As far as the historical application of the seer Dirghatamas is concerned, this solar theory is hardly acceptable.

A legend given in the *Brhad-Devatā* mentions that Dirghatamas became blind immediately after his birth,<sup>12</sup> and that his attendant slaves bound the aged and blind Dirghatamas and cast him into the waters.<sup>13</sup> After he came out of waters in the Aṅga country, he begot the seer Kakṣivant by the maiden-slave employed by the king of Aṅga.<sup>14</sup> The relevant hymn (i.e., *RV* 1.158) is addressed to the Aśvins by Dirghatamas. Naturally, the Aśvins helped the seer and freed him from his miseries. It is thus seen that Dirghatamas became apparently old in his early age. As the notion of *yuga* comprising a period of five years was deeply rooted from ancient times, the word *yuga* in the present verse also should be regarded as denoting a period of five years.

Subsequently, *yuga* was considered to be a long period of time, the human *yuga* being divided into four sections, namely, Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. This idea of *yuga* has been further developed in the *Purāṇas*.

#### Cāturmāsyā sacrifices of four years

While dealing with certain rites in the Cāturmāsyā sacrifices, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (*TBr.*) 1.4.10 refers to four names of the years, viz., Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idāvatsara and Anuvatsara.

11. *The Arctic home in the Vedas*, (Poona, 1924), p. 177.

12. *The Brhad-Devatā*, 4.15, (ed. by A. A. Macdonell, Rep., Delhi, 1965, p. 39).

13. *Ibid.*, 4.21 ; cf., also, *RV* 1.158.5.

14. *Ibid.*, 4.25.

Similar names have been mentioned in the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (*Tāṇḍ. Br.*) 17.13.17<sup>15</sup> and are attributed to the four *parvans* of the Cāturmāsyā sacrifices. This would suggest that there might have been a peculiar cycle of four years. This problem has been dealt with in detail by K.L. Daftari. The year consists of 360 days; but the cycle of six seasons requires 365½ days to turn. Therefore, to adjust the cycle of days in years, one intercalary month consisting of 21 days was taken in every fourth year. In this connection, Shama Sastry remarks: "The Vedic poets adopted the Sāvana year of 360 days for common use and adjusted it with the tropical year by adding 21 days to every fourth Sāvana year."<sup>16</sup> To support his theory, Daftari refers to the passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*) 13.4.4, which prescribes twenty-one sacrificial posts in the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It is stated that these twenty-one sacrificial posts must be taken to represent twenty-one intercalary days in the fourth years. This makes the cycle of four years complete and this period of four years ending with the long year consisting of 381 days was called a *yuga*.

As regards the reference to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, attention may be drawn to the following points. The procedure of this sacrifice is to be commenced on the sixth or the seventh day before the full-moon day of Phālguna,<sup>17</sup> when the horse is let loose. It is prescribed that four *dhṛti*-oblations are made on every day for a year.<sup>18</sup> The number of these oblations is mentioned as sixteen nineties.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is to be understood that the period of the roaming about by the horse is one complete year. Thereafter, a Soma-sacrifice, comprising three pressing-days, is to be

15. While translating the relevant passage from the *Tāṇḍ. Br.*, Caland remarks in the footnote: "These are probably four of the five names of the five-years' cycle." See *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa*, ed. by W. Caland, (Calcutta, 1931), p. 470.

16. *Gavām Ayana* (The Vedic Era) by R. Shama Sastry, (Mysore, 1908), p. 89.

17. *Śat. Br.* 13.4.1.4. फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी भवति तस्ये पुरस्तात् षड्ह वा सप्ताहे वा ।

18. Cf., *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (*VS*) 22. 19.

19. *Śat. Br.* 13.1.6.2. संवत्सरमाहुतीर्जुहोति षोडश नवतीः ।

Eggeling remarks that *sodasa navati* is four times 360. Cf., also, *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (*Kāt. SS*) 20.3.4.

performed. It is to be observed here that, in the Aśvamedha sacrifice, the number twenty-one has got a special significance. For example, it is said that twenty-one offerings are to be made in connection with the consecration.<sup>20</sup> Twenty-one sacrificial posts, each one of them measuring twenty-one *aratnis*,<sup>21</sup> are prescribed for the twenty-one *savantīya*-animals.<sup>22</sup> The measurement of the fire-altar is twenty-one *puruṣas*. The *sāmans* are chanted with twenty-one *stomas*.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the identification of twenty-one sacrificial posts with twenty-one intercalary days does not stand to reason, as the Aśvamedha sacrifice is extended over a period of not more than two years. The cycle of four years has, thus, to be proved on the basis of some other reference; the term *yuga* cannot be said to be applied to the cycle of four years.

### Cāturmāsyā sacrifices of five years

The details of the Cāturmāsyā sacrifices extending over five years have been prescribed in the *Mānava Śrautasūtra* (*Mān.ŚS*), *Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra* (*Bhār.ŚS*), *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* and *Hiraṇyakeśi Śrautasūtra* (*HŚS*). However, the still earlier mention of this type is in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā* (*MS*) and the *Kāthaka Saṃhitā* (*KS*). According to *MS* 1.10.8, one should perform three series of the Cāturmāsyā sacrifices, stop for a month after having completed the third series, and then start with the fourth series. Again, one should perform the two series, but in the last series, he should perform the third *parvan* and stop for a month.<sup>24</sup> Similar injunctions are also laid down in the *KS* 36.3. It is to be noted that two intercalary months occur during a period of five years. On the basis of the above-said injunctions, the *Mān.ŚS* 1.7.8.12-18 prescribes that one should perform four *parvans* as usual in the first year. But he should perform the *Śunāśīrya* (*i. e.*, the fourth) *parvan* on the day preceding the full-moon day of Phālguna and commence the *Vaiśvadeva-parvan* in the next series. In this manner, he should complete three series, stop for a month,

20. Cf., *Śat. Br.* 13.1.7.

21. *Ibid.*, 13.4.4.5.

22. *Ibid.*, 5.1.5.

23. *Ibid.*, 13.3.3.7.

24. Cf., ऋजूस्त्रीन् इष्ट्वा चतुर्थमुत्सूजेत । ऋजूद्वौ परा इष्ट्वा तृतीयमुत्सूजेत ।

and commence the *Vaiśvadeva-parvan* in the fourth series. After having completed the fourth series, as usual, he should perform the fifth series; but here, he should perform the *Sākamedha-parvan*, stop for five months, and then perform the *Śunāśīrya-parvan*.<sup>25</sup> Commenting on these sūtras, *Gelder* remarks in the footnote: "Sutras 16 and 18 give two leap months, as also *MS* 1.10.8, because five years do not contain sixty lunar months, but sixty-two."<sup>26</sup>

According to *Ap.ŚS* 8.22.10-11, one should perform three series of Cāturmāsya sacrifices, halt for a month, again perform two series and stop. If one has commenced the Cāturmāsya sacrifices on the full-moon day of Caitra, he should perform two series, halt for a month, again perform three series, and stop.<sup>27</sup> It is here understood that only one intercalary month is seen occurring during the period of five years. The *Bhār.ŚS* (8. 22. 9-10) and the *HŚS* (5. 20.10-12) refer only to one intercalary month. It may be suggested here that the second intercalary month might be occurring at the end of the fifth year. From these references it would be seen that the people in those days had the knowledge of the cycle of five years together with the position of the intercalary month.

### The cycle of five years

In the context of the above-said concept of the cycle of five years as based on the Cāturmāsya sacrifices extending over five years, we may consider the exact occurrence of the intercalary month during the period of five years. As the reference to the intercalary month is traced even to the *RV* (1.25.8) there is no doubt that in ancient times people were calculating the thirteenth month. In other *Śāṅhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* one comes across several references to the thirteenth month besides the usual twelve

25. Cf., प्रसिद्धः प्रथमः संवत्सरः । तस्यान्ते या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी तां शुनासीर्योपवसति । योत्तरा तां वैश्वदेवाय ॥ प्रसिद्धो द्वितीयः संवत्सरः ॥ तथा तृतीयः । मासमूत्सृज्य वैश्वदेवेन यजेत ॥१६॥ प्रसिद्धश्चतुर्थः संवत्सरः ॥ तथा पञ्चमः । तस्य साकमेषेभ्योऽधिशुनासीर्य पञ्चसु मासेषु ॥१८॥

26. *The Mānava Śrautasūtra*, translated by Van Gelder and published in *Satapiṭaka Series*, Vol. 27, (New Delhi, 1963), p. 52 fn.

27. Cf.: त्रीनृतून् संवत्सरानिष्ट्वा मासं न यजते । द्वौ पराविष्ट्वा विरमति । चैम्यां तृपक्षम्य द्वाविष्ट्वा मासमनिष्ट्वा त्रीन् परान् इष्ट्वा विरमति ॥

months of the year. If it is considered that there was a cycle of four years, as suggested by Daftari, one would have to take into account twenty-one intercalary days in every fourth year. But, as the notion of month definitely refers to thirty days,<sup>28</sup> it is very difficult to accept the idea of an intercalary month consisting of only twenty-one days. From various references it is observed that there was the thirteenth month consisted of thirty days, similar to any other month consisting of thirty days. Pointing out the deficiency in the cycle of four years, Shama Sastry states that "about the twelfth century B.C. the cycle of five sidereal years of 366 days each was adopted. As the five years' cycle became generally known, the rites and ideas connected with the cycle of four years fell into disuse."<sup>29</sup> He, further, remarks : "A new system of calendar, based upon a cycle of five sidereal years of 366 days each with the intercalation of two lunar months, as described in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* seems to have been promulgated."<sup>30</sup> While discussing the problem of solstice days, P.C. Sengupta observes : "The Vedic Hindus found out a particular lunar month of *Māgha* to fix the beginning or the end of the five-yearly luni-solar Vedic cycle, and they stated the solstice days in reference to the phase of the moon of such a month of *Māgha*. The winter solstice day was the beginning of the Vedic five-yearly cycles or *yugas*."<sup>31</sup> From the references to the *Cāturmāsyā* sacrifices extending over five years, also, a cycle of five years can be logically deduced. The statement in the *Vedic Index* II, p. 192 that "there is no reference in the older Vedic texts to the five-year cycle"<sup>32</sup> does not stand to reason. In this connection, it is interesting to note the reference, in the *Mahābhārata*, to the two intercalary months occurring during the period of five years. In the *Virāṭa-parvan*, a question about the period of the incognito life of the Pāṇḍavas is mooted, where a reference is made to the two intercalary months occurring during the period of five years.<sup>33</sup>

28. Cf. *TS* 5.6.7, द्वादशमासाः संवत्सरः...त्रयोदश मासाः संवत्सरः...त्रिशद् रात्री-दीक्षितः...मासं दीक्षितः ।

29. *Gavām Ayana*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

31. *Ancient Indian chronology* by P. C. Sengupta, (Calcutta, 1947), p. 159.

32. Cf. : पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावृष्टजायतः ॥ विराटपर्व ४७.३ ॥

A reference to the cycle of five years, occurring in the *MS* and the *KS*, in connection with the Cāturmāsya sacrifices extending over five years, may have been the basis of the reference to the astronomical cycle of five years referred to in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* and in the *Mahābhārata*. This astronomical cycle of five years is called *yuga* in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*,<sup>33</sup> and in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>34</sup> The ancient *Pitāmaha Siddhānta*, which is now lost, stated, according to the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira (12. 1), that *yuga* means five years of the sun and the moon.<sup>35</sup> The *Vāyupurāṇa*, which is considered as an early *Purāṇa*, deals with the problem of counting the duration of time, in which context, the five years occurring in one *yuga* are mentioned.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere also, in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the cycle of five years is called *yuga*.<sup>37</sup>

The above arguments show that there need be no hesitation to state that the cycle of five years is named as *yuga* and that this concept of *yuga* comprising five years was based on the Cāturmāsya sacrifices extending over five years mentioned in the *MS*, the *KS* and some of the *Śrautasūtras*.

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33. पञ्चसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिः । ऋग्वेदज्योतिष १ ॥  
युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते । याजुषज्योतिष ५ ॥  
युगमाहुः पञ्चाब्दम् । ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त । ११ ॥

34. संवत्सराः पञ्च युगमहोरात्राश्चतुर्विधाः । २.०१.२८ ॥

35. Cf., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, p. 889.

36. Cf. : पञ्चानां प्रविभवतानां कालावस्थां निबोधत ।  
संवत्सरस्तु प्रथमो द्वितीयः परिवत्सरः ।  
इद्वत्सरस्तुतीयस्तु चतुर्थश्चानुवत्सरः ।  
वत्सरः पञ्चमस्तेषां कालः स युगसंज्ञितः ॥ ३१.२६.२८ ॥

37. Cf. इत्येतत् पञ्चवर्षं हि युगं प्रोक्तं मनीषिभिः ॥ ३१.४९ ॥  
श्रवण घनिष्ठादि युगं स्यात् पञ्चवार्षिकम् ॥ ५३.११६ ॥

ARE FEMININE BASES *PRĀTIPADIKAS*  
ACCORDING TO PĀṇINI ?

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The two sūtras of Pāṇini which define a *prātipadika*, viz., *arthavad adhātūr apratyayāḥ prātipadikam* and *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca* (Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.2.45, 46) declare that the term covers underived bases, *kṛt*-derivatives, *taddhita*-derivatives and compounds. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali states this fact more emphatically, when it says : 'Of derived stems, only *kṛt*-derivatives and *taddhita*-derivatives have the appellation *prātipadika* but not derivatives with any other suffix.<sup>1</sup> The statement has been repeated twice, first on Pāṇ. 1.2.45 itself, and again under *vārttika* 6 on the same sūtra.

Elsewhere, however, the *Bhāṣya* mentions, (under Pāṇ. 4.1.1), a *paribhāṣā* which reads : *prātipadika-grahaṇe liṅga-viśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* ('when *prātipadika* is spoken of it includes also a word with an affix denoting gender') which aims at providing for the inclusion of feminine bases (with fem. suffixes) also under the term *prātipadika*.

Now, the question arises as to why this *paribhāṣā* has not been mentioned under the *prātipadika* sūtras (1.2.45-46) ? Did not the *prātipadika-samjñā* proper require it ? Another pertinent question is : Who is the author of this *paribhāṣā* ? Obviously, it is not Patañjali, for it occurs in the *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana, being *vārttika* 4 under sūtra 4.1.1. But the mode of the statement of the *vārttika* makes it highly doubtful whether Kātyāyana was its author. The *vārttika* reads : *ni-ab-grahaṇam anarthakam, prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅga-viśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇāt*.<sup>2</sup> The fifth case-ending in *grahaṇāt* is to be

1 Cf., *kṛt-taddhita-antasya eva pratyayāntasya prātipadika-samjñā bhavati, nānyasya iti.* (*Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. 1.2.45)

2. The *paribhāṣā* is usually heard in connection with the *saṁśā-sūtras yuvā khalati* etc. and *kumārah śramaṇādibhiḥ* (Pāṇ. 2.1.67,70). But the latter sūtra itself is omitted in the *Bhāṣya*, and on the former sūtra the *paribhāṣā* has been stated in a negative way (...*liṅga-viśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam bhavati ity eṣā paribhāṣā na kartavya bhavati*).

noted. As in *parvato vahnimān dhūmāt*, *dhūma* is an already known sign of fire, so is *liṅga-viśiṣṭa-grahaṇa*, a known principle in the above *vārtika*. Had it been a new principle initiated by Kātyāyana, we should have *grahaṇam* (not *grahaṇāt*). So, it is to be admitted that the *paribhāṣā* dates from a still earlier age. But how much earlier?

It cannot be earlier than Pāṇini, for, had Pāṇini known or admitted it, he himself would have stated it along with the other *paribhāṣās* laid down by him. So, the authorship goes to a forgotten authority who flourished after Pāṇini but before Kātyāyana.<sup>3</sup>

Now, the *paribhāṣā* being a quotation (by Kātyāyana) from an unknown work by an author, it cannot be said with certainty in what context it was made. This diminishes its validity. And, as has already been noted, the *paribhāṣā* has not been, at all, referred to by Patañjali in the course of the discussion on the *prātipadika-saṃjñā*. This further detracts from its value.

The *paribhāṣā* cannot be accepted on the following grounds also :

(1) It leads to many difficulties. For example, by *dviṣat-parayos tāpe* (Pāṇ. 3.2.39), we have only *dviṣan-tapa* and *paran-tapa*, but by this *paribhāṣā* there will also arise *dviṣatīn-tapa* and *parān-tapa*, which are undesirable. While on this topic, Patañjali states that these difficulties are limited, and hence the *paribhāṣā* is acceptable.<sup>4</sup> But more difficulties than are enumerated in the *Bhāṣya* can be pointed out. For example, the *paribhāṣā* comes into conflict with another *paribhāṣā*, viz., *svām rūpam śabdasya* etc. If feminine bases are included in the masculine, then the *svām rūpam* *paribhāṣā* becomes meaningless. It cannot be objected that feminine bases are not *śabdasaṃjñā* of the masculine. For, *svām rūpam* is the main thing in the *sūtra*, and *śabdasaṃjñā* may be an example of what are to be avoided. It comes into conflict also with the *sūtra* *prātipadi-kārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa* etc. (Pāṇ. 2.3.46) where *prātipadika* and *liṅga* are

3. Nāgeśa's statement that the *paribhāṣās* are by pre-Pāṇinian grammarians need not necessarily mean that every *paribhāṣā* is such.

4. *dosāḥ khalu api sākalyena parīganitāḥ...tasmād yāni etasya paribhāṣayāḥ prayojanāni tadartham eṣā paribhāṣā kartavyā*. Also *na hi dosāḥ santi iti paribhāṣā na kartavyā...na hi bhiksukāḥ santi iti sthālyo nādhisriyante, na ca mṛgāḥ santi iti yavā nopyante*. (See *Bhāṣya* under *vārt. 15* on Pāṇ. 4.1.1),

mentioned side by side, which suggests that *liṅga* has not been included in *prātipadika*. The same is the case with the sūtra *ñi-ap-prātipadikāt* (Pāṇ. 4.1.1) where feminine affixes and *prātipadika* are mentioned separately.

(2) It is against popular usage, because nobody understands a female also when a male is referred to. *Nara* does not mean a man and a woman (except in some general statements). When a masculine form is to include a feminine also, the number must be dual. This is seen in the *ekaśeṣa* cases. That Pāṇini did not mean to go against usage is clear from the following *Bhāṣya* passage in the *Paspāśā Āhnika* : *atha kathāṁ bhagavataḥ Pāṇiner lakṣaṇāṁ pravṛttam? siddhe śabdārthasambandhe | kathāṁ punar jñāyate siddhaḥ śabdo'rthaḥ sambandhaś cā iti ? lokataḥ.*

(3) As Pāṇini has excluded the feminine stems (suffixes) from *prātipadika*, so has Patañjali, under the sūtra *prātipadikātha-liṅga* etc. (Pāṇ. 2.3.46). As an instance, he has stated that *kumārī* does not come under *prātipadikārtha*, that is, it is not a *prātipadika*. Now, if *kumārī* is not a *prātipadika*, no feminine stem with a feminine suffix is a *prātipadika*. Then, what purpose is to be served by the *liṅgaviśiṣṭa paribhāṣā* ?

(4) In the *jñāpaka* sūtras of the *paribhāṣā*<sup>5</sup> the words *yuvā* and *kumāraḥ* are not *prātipadikas*, because they are the nominative singular forms. So, the *paribhāṣā* cannot even be inferred from them. How can an unknowable *paribhāṣā* remove the difficulties involved in those or other sūtras ?

(5) If *yuvā* and *kumāraḥ* can denote *yuvati* and *kumarī* also by this *paribhāṣā*, then what was the necessity of so many *ekaśeṣa* sūtras, *pumān striyā* (Pāṇ. 1.2.67) etc. *Ekaśeṣas* are the cases where a masculine word includes the feminine also. But, there also, the dual number is required.

In view of the above, the *paribhāṣā* remains unacceptable, and hence feminine bases cannot be included in *prātipadika* on the strength of this *paribhāṣā*. But even if the *paribhāṣā* is accepted,

5. *yuvā khalati-palita* etc. (ibid. 2.1.67), and *kumāraḥ śramanādibhiḥ* (ibid., 2.1.70).

it cannot extricate the definition of *prātipadika* from narrowness. For, by *prātipadika-grahaṇa* in the *paribhāṣā* is meant, according to Nāgeśa, *prātipadika-bodhaka-śabda-grahaṇa*, i.e., actual use of a stem, or a general name of a class of stems such as *sarvanāma*.<sup>6</sup> The word *prātipadika* itself, therefore, does not include *liṅga-viśiṣṭa*, i.e., feminine stems. That is to say, the *liṅga-viśiṣṭa* *paribhāṣā* has nothing to do with the definition of *prātipadika*. The definition thus remains too narrow, feminine stems being left out.

Besides, even in the cases where it operates, the feminine stems may be understood from the mention of masculine stems, but that does not make the feminine *prātipadikas*. *Liṅga-viśiṣṭa-grahaṇa* does not necessarily mean their becoming *prātipadikas* also. *Rāja yāti* may indicate that the king's attendants also are going with him, but the attendants thereby do not become 'kings' themselves.

Knowingly or unknowingly, Pāṇini left out the feminine bases (with fem. suf.) in his enumeration of *prātipadikas*. The sūtras do not mention them. And, any attempt to insert them with the help of the *liṅga-viśiṣṭa* *pari-bhāṣā* meets with failure either because of the unacceptability of the *paribhāṣā* itself or its non-operation in the *prātipadika-saṃjñā*, or because *liṅga-viśiṣṭa-grahaṇa* does not necessarily mean *prātipadikatva* of the feminine bases.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Vide *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, 72. *Kaśikā* is stricter, and admits only an actual stem (not a general name also) for the operation of the *paribhāṣā*: *svarūpavidhi-viṣaye paribhāṣā iyam prātipadīka-svarūpa-grahane sati liṅga-viśiṣṭa-grahaṇam bhavati iti* (on Pāṇ. 4.1.1). Prof. Abhyankar, obviously following *Kaśikā*, translates *prātipadīka-grahaṇa* as 'express mention by wording of a noun-base.....'provided the base is specifically expressed and not merely described., (A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar by Kashinath Vasudev Abhyankar, Baroda, 1961).

7. Also vide the author's *Pāṇinian interpretation of the Sanskrit language* pp 32-33 ; K.C. Chatterjee, *Technical terms and technique of Sanskrit grammar* (Calcutta, 1948), p. 58.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BHATTOJI DIKSHA AND  
NARAYANA BHATTA WITH REGARD TO CERTAIN  
PHONETIC OBSERVATIONS

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Bhattoji Dikṣita (Bh.D) and Nārāyaṇa Bhatta (NBh.) are two outstanding grammarians who have given us two valuable recasts of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*Aṣṭ.*) with their own commentaries. They were contemporaries, belonging, respectively, to the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries A.D. Their respective works, the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (*SK*) and the *Prakriyāsarvasva* (*PS*) were written with a view to make the study of Pāṇinian grammar easy, methodical and full, but each has composed his work without the knowledge of the other. There is much that is common in their interpretations, but there are also differences in numerous places. A few of these latter, relating to phonetic observations, are dealt with here.

1. The duration of Udātta in the Svarita vowel

After defining the svarita to be a combination of udātta and anudātta (*saṃhāraḥ svartah*, *Aṣṭ.* 1.2.31), Pāṇini speaks of the duration of the udātta part in it in the sūtra *tasy idita udāttam ardhahrasvam* (*Aṣṭ.* 1.2.32). This means that half a mātrā at the beginning in the svarita vowel is udātta. By implication we get that the rest is anudātta. Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*MBh.*) makes it clear that *ardhahrasva* means half a mātrā (i.e., half the mātrā of a short vowel). He says : सात्रचो लोपो द्रष्टव्यः, अर्धहस्तमात्रमर्धहस्तमिति.<sup>1</sup> Kaiyaṭa confirms this and says that the word *ardhahrasva* has the *rūḍhi* sense of

1. The suffix *mātrac* is added in the sense of *pramāṇa* by प्रमाणे द्वयसज्जननमात्रचः (*Aṣṭ.* 5.3.37) and then it is dropped by the *vṛttika* प्रमाणे लः ।

half-mātrā.<sup>2</sup> The view of *Kāśikā* (K) too is the same: अर्धहस्तमिति चार्धमात्रोपलक्ष्यते । The work further makes it clear beyond any doubt that in long and prolated vowels the duration of the udātta is half mātrā and of the anudātta one and a half and two and a half mātrās, respectively: 'शिक्यैम्' इत्यत्रार्धमात्रादित उदात्ता अपरार्धमात्रानुदात्ता......, 'कन्या!' इत्यत्रार्धमात्रादित उदात्ता अध्यर्धमात्रानुदात्ता, 'माणवकं॒ माणवकं' इत्यत्रार्धमात्रादित उदात्ता अर्धतृतीयमात्रानुदात्ता ।

Both the well-known commentaries on *Kāśikā*, namely the *Nyāsa* (Ny.) and *Padamañjari* (PM) accept this view.<sup>3</sup> In keeping with this authoritative interpretation, NBh. observes: हस्तदीर्धप्लुतरूपस्यापि स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमात्रो भाग उदात्तः स्यात् शेषोऽनुदात्त इति<sup>4</sup>

However, Bh.D takes the word *hrasva* in this sūtra to be unmeant and unnecessary and interprets the sūtra to mean that the first half of a svarita is udātta and the other half anudātta. In SK he states: हस्तग्रहणमतत्त्वम्, स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम्, उत्तरार्धं तु परिशोषादनुदात्तम् । That by *atantra* he means *avivakṣita* is made clear both in his *Śabdakaustubha* (SK)<sup>5</sup> and in the *Praudhamanoramā*.<sup>6</sup> In the former he admits that the meaning of *ardhahrasva* is *ardhamātrā*, but, since he does not accept the word *hrasva* in the sūtra, he explains that the udātta is either half mātrā or half the length of the syllable, the first in the case of the short syllable and the second in the case of the long and prolated syllables.<sup>7</sup> He cites *Rkprātiśākhya* (RP) in his support :

एकाक्षरसमावेशे पूर्वयोः स्वरितः स्वरः ।  
तस्योदात्ततरोदात्तादर्धमात्रार्धमेव वा ॥ (RP. 3. 2)<sup>8</sup>

2. अर्धहस्तशब्दः प्रमाणवाची रूढिशब्दः... ग्रंथमात्रा त्वनेनाभिधीयते । Kaiyāṭa on *MBh*. 1.2.32.

3. Vide *Kāśikāvṛtti* with *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjari*, (Prācyabhāratīprakāśan, Varanasi, Part I, 1965), pp. 313-14.

4. *Prakriyāsarvasva*, Part I, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 106, Trivandrum, 1931), p. 10.

5. हस्तग्रहणमविवक्षितम् । *Śabdakaustubha*, Vol. II, (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1929), p. 15.

6. *Praudhamanoramā* with *Śabdaratna* and *Bhairavi*, (Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1939), p. 59.

7. SK, p. 15: अर्धहस्तशब्देनार्धमात्रा लक्ष्यते... हस्तग्रहणमविवक्षितम् । तेन स्वरितस्यादावर्धमात्रा अर्धं वा उदात्तं बोध्यम् । ..... अर्धमेव वेति..... दीर्घप्लुतयोरनुरोधेनेदम् ।

8. It may be noted that according to RP, the first part of the svarita is of a pitch higher than udātta; it is *udāttatara*.

In *Prau. Man.* he further states that *ardham* *vā* here should be taken as the more acceptable view since it comprises the *ardhamātrā* pertaining to the short svarita syllable also,<sup>9</sup> and that Haradatta's view that *ardhahrasva* stands for *ardhamātrā* can, at best, be justified only as based on some other school.<sup>10</sup> The expression *hrasvagrahaṇam atantram* occurs in *K* itself immediately after *ardhahrasvam iti cārdhamātropalakṣyate*. *Bh.D* finds an inconsistency between these two expressions in *K* and observes that the former should be understood as introduced because of the author's dissatisfaction with the latter.<sup>11</sup> He feels that Haradatta has not properly understood the passage.<sup>12</sup>

*Bh.D*'s conclusion is incompatible with the interpretation of earlier and later authorities and deserves to be examined in relation to them :

(1) It is against *MBh.* which not only does not say that 'hrasva' is unnecessary but explains it as meaning *mātrā*.

(2) The expression *hrasvagrahaṇam atantram* means to *Bh.D* something different from what it means to the authors of *K*. To *Dikṣita* *hrasva* is, in essence, to be eliminated from the *sūtra*. According to *K* the word is *upalakṣaṇa* for *dirgha* and *pluta* and hence should not be understood in its sense of a short syllable alone; *atantra*, therefore, means *apradhāna* as pointed out by both *Ny.* and *PM*.<sup>13</sup> The sentence which follows, namely, सर्वेषामेव ह्रस्वदीर्घं लुतानां स्वरितानामेव स्वरितविभागः, makes this clear enough. There is, therefore, no real contradiction in *K*. *Bh.D* ignores the examples given in *K* for *dirgha* and *pluta* svaritas and the unequivocal explanation there that only the first half *mātrā* is *udātta* in all these cases.

9. *Prau. Man.*, p. 64: 'अर्धं वा' इति दीर्घाभिप्रायम् । अनेनैव ह्रस्वस्यापि सङ्ग्रहाद् व्यापकत्वादिदमेवादर्तव्यमिति सूचयितुमेवकारः ।

10. *Ibid.*, p. 66. It may be noted that the view attributed to Haradatta is really found in *K* itself and it is accepted by *Bh.D* in his *SK*.

11. *SK*, Vol. II, p. 16; 'अर्धं ह्रस्वमित्यर्थमात्रोपलक्ष्यते, ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम्' इति वृत्तिग्रन्थः पूर्वपरितोषेणोत्तरवाक्यमवतार्य व्याख्येयः ।

12. *Ibid.*, हरदत्तग्रन्थो मूलापर्यालोचननिबन्धन इति सुधीभिराकलनीयम् ।

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 313: अतन्त्रमप्रधानम्, उपलक्षणार्थत्वात्; यथा 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्' इत्यत्र काकाः ।

(3) If, as Bh.D asserts, the view of *RP* is that the *udātta* is half the syllable and the *ardhamātrā* in the passage cited pertains only to *hrasva*, then we cannot explain the need for stating the latter separately. The *vā* in the passage will then have to be taken as mere *pādapūrṇa* as this commentator Haridikṣita observes.<sup>14</sup> The *sūtra*, as it stands, seems to allow the option between *ardhamātrā* and *ardha* and, probably, records the practice of two different schools of *R̥gvedic* recitation. There are other *Prātiśākhyas* which are positively in favour of *ardhamātrā*. The *Atharvaprātiśākhya (AP)*, for instance, has स्वरितस्यादितो मात्रार्धमुदात्तम्,<sup>15</sup> and *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya (TP)* states, आदिरस्योदात्तसम इत्याचार्यः;<sup>16</sup> where the word *ādi* is interpreted as *hrasvārdhakāla* in the *Māhiṣeyavṛtti*<sup>17</sup> as well as *Tribhāṣyaratna*,<sup>18</sup> an interpretation which has its basis on the earlier *sūtra*, तस्यादिरुच्चैस्तरामुदात्तादनन्तरे यावदर्थं हस्वस्य।<sup>19</sup> Bh.D does not mention anything about these.<sup>20</sup>

14. वाशब्दस्तु पादपूरणायेति बोध्यम् । *Śabdaratna*, (Vide *Prau. Man.*, p. 64).

15. *Atharvavedaprātiśākhya*, 1.17. (Ed. D. W. Whitney, Rep., Delhi, 1962, p. 20).

16. *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*, 1.46, (Ed. by Rajendralal Mitra with the commentary *Tribhāṣyaratna*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 18).

17. Ed. by V. V. Sharma, (Madras University, 1930), p. 12.

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

19. The *Tribhāṣyaratna* points out that of the six *sūtras* here dealing with *svarita* and stating options, this one is *TP*'s own (cf. : तस्यादिरित्यारभ्याभिहितेऽस्मिन् विकल्पजाले सूत्रमेतदेवेष्टम् ।); however, according to Whitney (*op. cit.*, p. 20) this is a citation of *AP*'s view, its own being what is contained in the earlier *sūtras*. Even agreeing with Whitney, it can be seen that the division of the *svarita* syllable in *TP* is into half *mātrā* and the rest, and that this half *mātrā* is *udāttatara* and the rest either like *udātta* or *anudātta* or even lower than *anudātta*.

20. The *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, however, seems to be in agreement with Bh.D's view. It states : तस्यादित उदात्तं स्वरार्धमात्रम् । Here, *svara* seems to mean the whole vowel. But the commentator Anantabhaṭṭa clearly takes *svarārdha* to mean *ardhamātrā* (vide V. V. Sharma's edition of *VP* with the commentaries of Uvvaṭa and Anantabhaṭṭa, Madras University, 1934, pp. 49-50). Uvvaṭa does not clearly state whether it is half a *mātrā* or half the syllable. He simply states *svarārdhamātrakālam* and *ardham udāttam param anudāttam*. Smt. Indu Rastogi translates *svarārdha* as 'half mora' (*Suklayajuhprātiśākhya*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, 79, Varanasi, 1967, Text with Translation, p. 17), while S. N. Ghosal translates it as 'half of the *svarita* vowel' and states that this is not identical with *mātrārdha* (*Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya*, Text with Translation, *Indian Studies*, Calcutta, 1964, p. 48).

Moreover, the use of svarita is not confined to the Veda. Pāṇini himself uses it as a device for indicating an *adhikāra sūtra* and an *ubhayapadī dhātu*.<sup>21</sup> So, to arrive at a conclusion based on Vedic treatises, ignoring the interpretation of *MBh.* and *K*, which, here, can be presumed to be stating the practice in popular usage, is not fully justified.

(4) Bharṭṛhari makes it clear that *hrasva* stands for *pramāṇa*, i.e., *mātrā*. Cf. his *VP* :<sup>22</sup>

प्रमाणमेव हस्वादावनुपात्तं प्रतीयते ॥ 2.309 ॥  
 हस्वस्याधं च यद् दृष्टं तत्स्यासन्निधावपि ।  
 हस्वस्य लक्षणार्थत्वात्तद्वदेवाभिधीयते ॥ 2.310 ॥  
 दीर्घप्लुताभ्यां तस्य स्यान्मात्राया वा विशेषणम् । 2.311 ॥

Pūṇyarāja's comment, here, confirms this. Cf. : अर्धंहस्वमिति मात्राया उपलक्षणार्थम्, अतो दीर्घप्लुतयोरप्यादिभूतार्धमात्रोदात्तेति बोहद्व्यम् । His further comment, viz., एतदेवान्यैरुक्तम् अर्धंहस्वमित्यनेनार्धमात्रा लक्ष्यते हस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम् इति ; तस्मात् हस्वस्यात्र लक्षणार्थत्वाद् दीर्घप्लुतयोरप्यर्थमात्रोदात्ता भवतीत्यभिधीयते :<sup>23</sup>

where the citation is evidently from *K*, helps to show that there is no contradiction of the sort felt by *Bh.D* in the statement, and that in any svarita the first half *mātrā* alone is *udātta*.

(5) Some of *Bh.D*'s own followers and commentators differ from him in this matter. Thus, his own grandson Haridikṣita, in his commentary *Śabdaratna* on *Prau.Man.*,<sup>24</sup> points out that the view of Haradatta criticised by *Bh.D* has its support in *MBh.* and *Vākyapadīya* and cites Helārāja's commentary on the line *Pramāṇam eva hravsvādau* etc. in further evidence of *ardhahrasva* meaning *ardhamātrā* : अनुपात्तमपि अर्धमात्रारूपं प्रमाणमेवोपलक्ष्यत इत्यथः :<sup>25</sup> । He

21. Asf. 1.3.11, स्वरितेनाधिकारः । 1.3.72, स्वरितवितः कर्त्त्वभिप्राये क्रियाफले ।

22. Ed., *Banaras Sanskrit Series*, pp. 210-11.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

24. Vide *Prau. Man.*, p. 66.

25. The commentary cited is in accordance with the reading, प्रमाणमर्धंहस्वादावनुपात्तं प्रतीयते (II. 30) which is the one adopted in the edition of *Vākyapadīya* by K. V. Abhyankar and V. P. Limaye, Poona, 1965. The word *anupātta* is explained in Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe's commentary *Bhāvaprakāśa* on *Śabdaratna* as : संज्ञासूत्रेणानुकृतम्, शब्दशक्त्यप्रतिपाद्यमिति यावत् ।

further states that this is what we find in popular usage and in all Vedic schools other than the one cited by Bh.D.<sup>26</sup> Nāgeśa, too, in his *Laghu* and *Bṛhat Śabdenduśekharas*, holds the same view.<sup>27</sup> He explains *atantram* in quite a different manner as *svāśāstrasaṅketitarupeñābodhakam* (that is, not conveying the conventional sense of *hrasva* as a vowel having one mātrā, by *ukālojjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*) but *ardhamātrārūpārthabodhakam*, and that, therefore, in dīrgha and pluta also we have only half a mātrā as udātta.<sup>28</sup> In *Br.ŚŚ* however, he cites the view of his guru that *ardham* (after eliminating *hrasva*) should be taken in the sense of *avayava* or part (and not in the sense of *samāṁśa* or exact half) so that it can be taken as half the syllable or as half a mātrā as required in the respective sākhās of the Veda, and as half a mātrā in popular usage following *MBh*.<sup>29</sup> But *Bh.D* himself has not indicated it. When there are, thus, his own followers disagreeing with him, it is unnecessary to discuss the arguments brought forward against his view by his opponents like Jagannātha Pañdita.

Although the svarita is a combination of udātta and anudātta, the components are so blended as to make it a tone distinctive in itself. Patañjali considers the combination to be similar to that of milk and water.<sup>30</sup> Uvvaṭa likens it to bronze, an alloy of tin and copper.<sup>31</sup> Still, just as in the alloy there is a ratio

26. एवञ्च लोकेऽन्यशाखासु च दीर्घादिष्वप्यर्धमात्रैवोदात्तेति भावः ।

27. *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* (*LŚŚ*), (*Kashi Sanskrit Series*, No. 27, Benares, 1954), p. 25; *Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara*, (*Br. ŚŚ*) (*Sarasvatibhavana Granthamala*, No. 87, Varanasi, Vol. I, 1960), p. 31.

28. एवं च दीर्घादिष्वप्यर्धमात्रैवोदात्ता ।

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 32. This is also cited in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.

30. *MBh.* under 1.2.32: आमिश्रीभूतमिवेदं भवति । तद्यथा क्षीरोदके सम्पृक्ते आमिश्रीभूतत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियत् क्षीरं कियदुदकं कस्मिन्नवकाशे क्षीरं कस्मिन् वोदकमिति, एवमिहाप्यामिश्रीभूतत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियदुदात्तं कियदनुदात्तं कस्मिन्ननुदात्तमिति । तदाचार्यः सुहृदभूतत्वाचष्टे इयदुदात्तमियदनुदात्तम्, ग्रस्मिन्नवकाश उदात्तमस्मिन्नवकाशेऽनुदात्तमिति ।

31. Vide com. on *VP* 1.126; *RP* 1.3: यथा त्रपुताग्रयोः संयोगे सति कांस्यस्य धान्वन्तरस्योत्पत्तिरेवमुदात्तानुदात्तसंयोगे स्वरितोत्पत्तिः ।

between the two ingredients, so too when we carefully analyse the svarita we are able to get in our minds the ratio between its two constituents. as indicated by Kaiyatā.<sup>32</sup> Patañjali has determined this on the basis of Pāṇini's sūtra as it stands. This is accepted by most others and NBh. is among them. Bh.D holds a view, mostly his own, on the basis of a suggested change in Pāṇini's sūtra, but few find this acceptable.

## 2. Nasality in yama

Yama is a sound that develops between a plosive and a following nasal within a word. This is a phonetic phenomenon found in Vedic recitation and does not concern the spoken language. From the description given in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*, its nature can be seen to be of a nasal offglide from the plosive to the nasal, what is described by modern phoneticians as 'a faecal plosion of the oral stop'.<sup>33</sup> Thus, for instance, *RP* states ; स्पर्श यमान् अननुनासिकाः स्वान् परेषु स्पर्शेष्वनुनासिकेषु, यमः प्रकृत्यैव सदक्<sup>34</sup> *TP* has : स्पर्शादनुत्तमादुत्तमपरादानुपृथ्यन्नासिक्याः, तान् यमानेके<sup>35</sup> *VP* clearly states that the place of articulation of the yama is the nose : यमानुस्वारयमानां नासिके,<sup>36</sup> and more precisely the root of the nose : नासिकामूले यमाः<sup>37</sup> The *Pāṇiniyāśikṣā* also considers yama as a nasal sound : अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते<sup>38</sup> The *MBh.* too can be seen to hold the same view.<sup>39</sup>

32. *Pradīpa* on *MBh.* 1.2.32, यथा हस्ये बुद्ध्या अर्धमात्रा विभज्यते, एवं दीर्घप्लुतयोरपि ।

33. W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, (London, 1961), p. 75.

34. *Śaunaka's Prātiśākhyā of the Rgveda*, with the commentary of the *Uvācā*, edited by Yugalkisora Vyasa, (*Benares Sanskrit Series*, 1902), *Paṭala VI*, *sūtras* 29, 32 (p. 162).

35. *TP* 21.12-13.

36. *VP* 1.74.

37. *Ibid.*, 1.82.

38. *Pāṇiniyāśikṣā*, ed. by Manomohan Ghosh, (Calcutta, 1938), p. 41.

39. This is evident from the statement in *MBh.* under 1.1.8 : नासिकावचनोऽनुनासिक इतीयत्युच्यमाने यमानुस्वाराणामेव प्रसज्येत ।

In accordance with all this testimony, NBh. defines the term as : यमाः स्युरग्निरत्नादौ सनासा झम्परा झयः<sup>40</sup> 'yamas are plosives which have on them a nasal sound when they are in conjunction with a following nasal consonant as (between *g* and *n*) in *ag-ni* or (between *t* and *n*) in *rat-nam*.'

Bh.D is strangely silent about this nasal element in *yama*. He simply says : वर्गेष्वाद्यानां चतुर्णा पञ्चमे परे सध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः, which shows that, to him, *yama* is a sound similar to the plosive in the conjunction of plosive and nasal. He seems to lay stress on the literal sense 'twin' of the word *yama* and also probably with his predilection for *RP* gives importance to the statement in it *yamah prakṛtyaiva sadṛk* without taking into account other factors. *RP* itself states in a different context that the *yamas* are nasals.<sup>41</sup> The similarity of a *yama* to the plosive which gives rise to it should be understood as limited to its being coloured by the latter in order to make it a sound distinctive from the homorganic nasal of the plosive.

Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa seems to realise the deficiency in Bh.D's definition. Commenting on this, he says that the similarity is with regard to the effort alone, thereby implying that it is not with regard to the place of articulation.<sup>42</sup>

### 3. The quantity of the alternative substitute for *r̥* in combination with a *savarṇa*

When *r̥* is followed by a *savarṇa*, namely *r̥* or *l̥* we naturally get the long form substituted for both by the rule *akah savarṇe dīrghah* (*Aṣṭ.* 6.1.101) but since *l̥* is declared to have no long form, *r̥* becomes the substitute in both the cases, the *sāvarya* between *r̥* and *l̥* being specially ordained. So we get the form *hotr̥kārah* for both *hotr̥ + rkārah* and *hotr̥ + lkārah*. The quantity of this *r̥* is two *mātrās*, being that of a long vowel. But in *MBh.*

40. *PS I*, p. 11.

41. Cf. ; नासिक्ययमानुस्वारान् । (*RP I*, verse 10). The *nāsikya* is a sound that develops between *h* and a nasal within a word. The *sūtra* means that this *yama* and *anusvāra* have the nose as their place of articulation.

42. *LSS*, p. 35 : पूर्वसदृश इति, सादृश्यं यत्तकृतम् ।

we get two *vārtikas*, *viz.*, सर्वर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति र्हृ वा वचनम् । लृति ल्लृ वा वचनम् । which ordain alternative substitutes which can orthographically be represented, more or less, as र्हृ and ल्लृ, respectively in the above combinations. The nature and quantity of this substitute is not made quite explicit in *MBh.* which, however, states that this substitute is not, strictly speaking, a vowel but has to be considered a vowel for the purpose of euphonic combination.<sup>43</sup> This is, perhaps, a sound to be included among *ayogavāhas*, as indicated by *Nāgeśa*.<sup>44</sup> Kaiyatā says that the prayatna for this substitute is *īṣatsprṣṭa* and thereby shows that the consonantal element, namely *r* or *l*, is clearly perceptible in it. He speaks of two views regarding its length, (1) two and a half *mātrās* and (2) two *mātrās*, but prefers the latter so as to suit the name *dīrgha*.<sup>45</sup> His view is in close agreement with the one accepted by Bhartṛhari in the *Bhāṣyadīpikā*,<sup>46</sup> where, however, another view considering the effort here as *samvṛttatara* is also given.<sup>47</sup> Haradatta also holds the substitute to be of two *mātrās* but according to him there are four segments in it, of which the first and last are vocalic and the central pair consonantal, each segment being of half a *mātrā* in quantity.<sup>48</sup>

NBh. accepts the view that this has two and a half *mātrās*. He says : अत्र ऋलृवर्णयोः परयोः सार्धद्विमात्र ऋ लृ वाच्यः, दातृषभः होत्लृकारः ।<sup>49</sup>

43. *MBh.* on 1.1.4: न च ऋकार ल्लृकारो वा अजस्ति । ऋकारस्य ल्लृकारस्य च अचृतं वक्ष्यामि ।

44. *Vide Uddyota* on the above.

45. *Vide Pradipa* on the above.

46. *Vide K. V. Abhyankar*, 'Euphonistic combinations of *r* and *l* with *r* and *l*', *Indian Linguistics*, 26 (1965) 6. The relevant extract from the corrupt text of Bhartṛhari's commentary is given here reconstructed intelligibly with the help of Hemacandra's *Śabdānuśāsana* where we get parallel passages.

47. Kaiyatā too speaks of this under 6.1.101.

48. *Vide Padamañjari* on 1.1.9: द्विमात्रोऽयम्, मध्ये द्वी रेफो तयोरेका मात्रा, अभितोऽजभक्तेरपरा, ईषत्सृष्टश्चायम् … मध्ये द्वी लकारो, तयोरेका मात्रा, अभितोऽजभक्तेरपरा ।

49. *PS*, I, p. 45. As printed here, the first illustration is given as दातृषभः but it ought to be दातृषभः (and the next one होत्लृकारः) as, otherwise, there would be no difference between this form and the one got by अकः सर्वं दीर्घः ।

Obviously, he is following the alternative view given by Kaiyatā. Bh.D follows Haradatta. In SK he says : ऋति र्तं वा लृति लृं वा इत्युभय-त्रापि विधेयं वर्णद्वयं द्विमात्रम्, आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेकौ तयोरेका मात्रा अभितोऽज्ज्ञवते-रपरा ; द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये द्वौ लकारौ शेषं प्रावत् ।

In SK, he accepts the prayatna of this to be *īṣatspr̥ṣṭa*<sup>50</sup> and in *Prau. Man.*, discards the view that this has only one *mātrā*.<sup>51</sup>

The respective positions taken by Bh.D and NBh. have their bases in the observations with regard to the nature of *r* itself in some Śikṣās and Prātiśākhyas. Thus, according to the *Sarvasammataśikṣī*, for instance, *r* has the same four parts and in the same order as held by Bh.D but each is only of quarter *mātrā*.<sup>52</sup> The alternative substitute in the instance in question according to Haradatta and Bh.D is the same syllable with double the quantity for each element. Several Prātiśākhyas consider *r* as having *r* imbedded in it. Thus RP says : रेकोऽस्त्वं नारे च परस्य चार्वं पूर्वं । (13. 34) ; AP states : संस्पृष्टरेकमृवर्णम्, दीर्घप्लुतयोः पूर्वा मात्रा, सलकारम्लृवर्णम् । (1.37.-39) ; and VP reads : ऋलृवर्णं रेकलकारौ संश्लिष्टावश्रुतिधरावेकवर्णौ । (4.148) From this it is also seen that in the lengthened forms of *r* and *l* the quantity of the consonantal element remains the same and it is perceptible only in the first *mātrā*. We also understand that in spite of the presence of vocalic and consonantal elements in this, it should be considered as a single blended sound (*ekavarna*). It is this sound, expanded into one of two and a half *mātrās*, that should be considered as the alternative substitute referred to by Kaiyatā and adopted by NBh. The presence of the *antahstha* element in the initial part justifies its

50. SK, Vol. I, p. 119.

51. *Prau. Man.*, p. 238. The view referred to is mentioned by Hemacandra and is the one adopted by Viṭṭhala in his commentary on *Prakriyākaumudi*.

52. ऋकारस्य स्वरूपं हि श्लिष्टं पादचतुष्टयम् ।

पादेषु तेषु विज्ञेयावादावन्ते स्वरात्मकौ ॥

अणू रेकस्य मध्ये तु विज्ञेयौ व्यञ्जनात्मकौ ।

(cited by Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 62)

being regarded as of *īṣatspr̥ṣṭa* prayatna. Its nearest approximation is perhaps क्रे १५३

This raises two questions, namely, whether we can have a sound of two and a half mātrās and even if such an one is possible whether we can have *l* of that duration. *RP* does speak of a sound of such quantity. It is called *garīyas* and occurs when a long vowel is in combination with a consonant; cf, गुरु दीर्घं गरीयस्तु यदि सध्यञ्जनं भवेत्.<sup>54</sup> It is possible to consider in the above mentioned lengthened sound the first part as that of a full *vyañjana* at the analytical stage so as to have the first half mātrā consonantal and the remaining two vocalic, that of a long vowel. Do we then accept long *ī* also? Yes, we do. In *AP* the sūtra *dīrghaplutayoh purvā mātrā* applies to the next sūtra *salakāramlyarṇam* as much as it applies to the earlier. The use of *varṇa* in the latter sūtra indicates *dīrgha* also to *l*, because the word *varṇa* after a short vowel in this treatise shows that it includes its *dīrgha* and *pluta* forms.<sup>55</sup> The *RP* indicates its presence<sup>56</sup> and *VP* explicitly mentions it, although in its later portion.<sup>57</sup> In the Pāṇiniyan system also since the *pluta* form of *l* is accepted as in *Kṛptaśikha*,<sup>58</sup> there need be no objection for *ī* simply on the ground that it is ordinarily replaced by *ṛ*.

53. Prof. Abhyankar, (*op. cit.*, p. 5) considers it possible that the substitutes ordained by the Vārtikas are क्रर्, लूल् being the result of an extension of Pāṇini's sūtra उरण् रपरः (1.1.51) to क्र and ल् and cites Śākaṭayana क्ररचोः साचः (1.1.76) in support. But the commentary *Cintāmaṇi* on *Śākaṭayana-vyākaraṇa*, points out that this क्रर् is an अच्चसमुदाय and the ādeśa which has *īṣatspr̥ṣṭakarana* is a *varṇāntara*. Obviously, this is not the sound for those who uphold the *īṣatspr̥ṣṭakarana*.

54. *R̥gvedaprātiśākhya* edited by Mangal Deva Shastri, (Benares, 1959), 18.20, (p. 85); vide also Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

55. Vide Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

56. *pañcasvapi tāni santi* in the *Bhāgadvayavṛtti* (verse 9) prefixed to the *Prātiśākhya* proper. The five includes *l*; *tāni*=*dīrghāni*.

57. 8.3. लू इति लू इति लू३ इति ।

58. Vide *MBh.* under *Śivasūtra*, *rīk*.

It may, however, be noted that NBh. gives only the quantity of the substitute and examples and does not specify the nature of the sound. This is probably because the nature of its vocalic part cannot be clearly defined. Bharṭhāri refers to this as only vocalic (अङ्गमात्र=अङ्ग+मात्रा or अच्च+मात्रा) when he says द्वौ रेकावध्यधंश्चाङ्गमात्र इति, while in giving another view he speaks of अकार itself : सकलश्च रेफः ऋकारश्चाज्जक्तिश्चार्धमात्र इति ।<sup>59</sup> Hemacandra too gives it only as *svara* when he says द्विरेकश्रुतिकम् अध्यर्धस्वरमात्रमित्यपरे ।<sup>60</sup> In *VP* the expression *aśrutidharau* in the sūtra *ṛlvarṇe rephalakārau* etc., cited above, seems to show that the vocalic sound is *a* itself,<sup>61</sup> probably of the *samivṛta* variety. It may be seen that such an *a*, the neutral vowel, is seen in the normal pronunciation of *r* and *l* in South India, and, in the pronunciation of the lengthened forms of these, this alone is heard beyond [the first mātrā].

#### 4. The Bāhyaprayatnas

The *bāhyaprayatnas* are secondary efforts in the production of speech sounds. The sūtra *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam* (*Aṣṭ.* 1.1.9) lays down two conditions for determining the homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) between two sounds, namely, identity of the place of articulation and identity of the articulatory process within the mouth cavity. These processes, namely, *spṛṣṭa*, *īṣatspṛṣṭa*, *vivṛta* and *samivṛta* are, therefore, called *abhyantara* or 'internal' and are the primary efforts in the determination of *sāvarṇya*. Their function is mainly articulatory. There is another class of efforts whose function is mainly acoustic and gives to each sound in the alphabet its distinctive characteristic. These are called *bāhya* or 'external' in that they occur outside the mouth cavity, mostly in the larynx, the terms *abhyantara* and *bāhya* being

59. Cited by Abhyankar, *op. cit.*, p. 6. But he takes the sound as *r* itself.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Allen takes it in this sense (*op. cit.*, p. 62). Weber too has a similar view (Whitney, *AP*, p. 33). The commentator Uvvaṭa, however, takes it to mean that *r* and *l* are not separately heard here. Since this idea has already been got by the word *ekavarṇau* in the sūtra, it is unnecessary to take it in this sense. Uvvaṭa himself speaks of a guttural sound here and cites also Pāṇini's *urāṇraparāḥ* which shows that he too feels the need for *a* here.

used with reference to the mouth, within it or without.<sup>62</sup> These are secondary in the sense that, although for deciding sāvaraṇya they are not necessary, they are taken into consideration when the ābhyantraprayatna by itself is unable to serve the purpose of determining the nearest equivalent (*antarata myaparīkṣā*).

As to the number of the bāhyaprayatnas there is not unanimity of opinion. Patañjali speaks of eight of them, namely *vivāra*, *saṁvāra*, *śvāsa*, *nāda*, *ghoṣa*, *aghoṣa*, *mahāprāṇa* and *alapaprāṇa*.<sup>63</sup> Three more, namely *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, are added to the list by Jinendrabuddhi,<sup>64</sup> Kaiyatā,<sup>65</sup> and Haradatta.<sup>66</sup>

*NBh.* accepts only the eight mentioned by Patañjali. He observes :

प्रयत्नाः स्थानगाः पूर्वमुक्तासावर्ण्यहेतवः ।  
वर्णसाम्याय विज्ञेया वाह्याः सन्त्यष्ट वायुजाः ॥  
विवृतिः संवृतिः श्वासो नादोऽघोषः सघोषता ।  
सोष्मानूष्मस्वरूपे च महाल्पप्राणते इति ॥<sup>67</sup>

It is also made clear that these efforts relate to the air-stream in the articulation of sounds and that they serve to determine the nearest equivalent to a varṇa among its savarṇas. *Mahāprāṇa* and *alapaprāṇa* are rightly explained, following the terminology of *RP*,<sup>68</sup> as *soṣman* and *anūṣman*, since, in effect, they stand for aspiration and unaspiration in the consonants, the relevant *ūṣman*

62. *Nagesa* makes this clear : ये तत्तत्स्थानाभिघातका यत्नास्ते आस्यान्तर्गत-तत्तत्कार्यकारित्वाद् 'आभ्यन्तरा' इत्युच्यन्ते । गलविवरविकासादिकराश्चास्यबहिर्भूतदेशो कार्यकरत्वाद् 'वाह्या' इति । (*LSS* I, p. 35; see also *Br.SS* I, p. 55 and *Uddyota* under 1.1.9.

63. *MBh.* on 1.1.9 : सन्ति ह्यास्याद् वाह्याः प्रयत्नाः……विवारसंवारौ, श्वासनादौ, घोषवद्घोषता, अल्पप्राणता महाप्राणता इति ।

64. वाह्यास्त्वेकादश……विवारः……स्वरितश्चेति । *Nyasa* 1.1.9.

65. विवारादयो वाह्या एकादशप्रयत्ना उत्पद्यन्ते । on *MBh.* 1.1.9.

66. *PM* on 1.1.9.

67. *PS*, I. pp. 11-12.

68. *RP*, I. 3.

here being *h*. In the *Rupāvatāra* of Dharmakirti also only these eight are given.<sup>69</sup>

Bh.D states the bāhyaprayatnas to be eleven in number : बाह्यप्रथत्त्वेकादशधा, विवारः संवारः श्वासो नादो घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति.<sup>70</sup> The *Tattvabodhinī* is aware of the contradiction here to *MBh.* and says that the enumeration is following Kaiyatā.<sup>71</sup> But since *udātta* etc. are common to all vowels and help to distinguish only the varieties of one and the same vowel in the classification of varṇas on the basis of bāhyaprayatnas, they are unnecessary. Therefore it is that Patañjali says that tones like the *udātta* are not distinctive features with regard to classification (*abhedaka udāttādayah*),<sup>72</sup> not that they are not extra-buccal processes in articulation. In fact, he states them [to be qualities<sup>73</sup> and any quality imparted to any sound requires an effort.<sup>74</sup>

If tones like *udātta* etc. are included among the bāhyaprayatnas here, it is inexplicable why other factors like duration (*hrasva*, *dīrgha*, *pluta*) and nasality (*anunāsika*) should be excluded, since they too determine the variety of a vowel. In fact, Patañjali indicates that duration is an 'external' effort<sup>75</sup> and Kaiyatā

69. Vide *Rupāvatāra* edited by M. Rangacharya, (Madras, 1908), Vol. I, p. 3.

70. *SK* on *tulyāsyaprayatman savarnam*, *Asṭ.* 1.1.9.

71. यद्यपि भाष्येऽष्टावृक्ताः उदात्तादयस्तु नोक्ताः, तथापि कैयटोवितमनुसूत्यंकादशोक्ता इति बोध्यम् ।

72. *MBh.* on 1.1.9.

73. *MBh.* on 1.1.1 : 'अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणामनङ्गुदात्तः' इति उदात्तग्रहणं करोति, यदि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत् । The statement implies that *udātta* etc. are *guṇas*. *Bālamanoramā* also points out that *udātta* etc., are qualities उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिताः शब्दाः धर्मपराः ।

74. Nāgeśa considers among the prayatnas for *udātta* and *anudātta*, respectively, the narrowing and widening of the glottis, practically the same as *samvāra* and *vivāra*.

75. *MBh.* (under अइउण्) : किमुच्यते विवारभेदादिति, न पुनः कालभेदादपि । यथैव ह्यम् विवारभिन्नः एवं कालभिन्नोऽपि । सत्यम्, एवमेतत् । वक्ष्यति 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सर्वण्म्' इत्यत्र आस्यप्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सर्वण्संज्ञा भवन्तीति । बाह्यश्च पुनरास्यात् कालः ।

explains that this is because the effort is in the *nābhipradeśa* (which must be taken to mean the lungs according to modern physiology) and hence outside the mouth.<sup>76</sup> Bh.D is silent on this matter. But, in *ŚK*, he has an observation regarding nasality which suggests that it is produced within the mouth and hence *ābhyanṭara*. He says that *nāsikā* is not the external nose, the nasal cavity, but a streak in the stretched skin in the interior of the buccal cavity.<sup>77</sup>

Several authorities speak of a sequence between the *ābhyanṭaraprayatna* and *bāhyaprayatna* in the production of a sound. Patañjali himself hints at this sequence when he says *prārambho yatnasya prayatnāḥ*, meaning that with regard to the efforts relating to the production of a sound, that which comes first in *prayatna*, i.e., *ābhyantaraprayatna*, thereby implying that which follows is *bāhya*.<sup>78</sup> Kaiyatā also speaks of this relative sequence when, interpreting this *Bhāṣya* passage, he says : पूर्वं स्पृष्टतादयश्चत्वारः, पश्चात् ... ... प्राणाख्ये वायौ विवारादयो बाह्याः। The name *anupradāna* for *bāhyaprayatna* also shows that it is something which comes after another (अनु पश्चात् प्रदीयते इत्यनुप्रदानम्।) Naturally, both these occur before the sound takes its final shape. Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta consider the *ābhyanṭaras* as occurring *during* the production of the sound and *bāhyas* as *after* it.<sup>79</sup> Bh.D says :<sup>80</sup> आभ्यन्तरश्चतुर्था ... एषां चतुर्णामाभ्यन्तरत्वं वर्णोत्पत्तिप्राप्नावित्वात् बाह्याः प्रयत्नाः पुनरेकादश... एते च वर्णोत्पत्तेः पश्चात् मूर्धिं

76. Vide *Pradīpa* on the above : नाभिप्रदेश एव विशिष्टप्रयत्नारम्भाद् दीर्घाद्विनिष्पत्त्या नाभेश्चास्यबाह्यत्वात् कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् ।

77. नासिका हि न बाह्या वर्णोत्पत्तौ निमित्तम्, तत्र जिह्वाग्रादिव्यापारविरहात्, किन्तु अन्तरास्ये वितं चर्मस्ति पणवचर्मवत्, तत्सम्बद्धौ रेखाविशेषो नासिका, स वै वर्णोत्पत्तौ निमित्तमिति सिद्धान्तात् । *SK*, I, p. 118.

78. *Nāgeśa* explains : यत्नस्येति निधरणे षष्ठी, आरम्भ इति कर्मणि घन् । (vide *Uddyota*).

79. आभ्यन्तरत्वं पुनरेषां स्थानप्रकरणप्रयत्नव्यापारेणोत्पत्तिकाल एव सम्भवात् ... बाह्यत्वं पुनरेषां वर्णनिष्पत्तिकालादूर्ध्वं वायुवशेनोत्पत्तेः । *Ny.* on 1.1.9. *PM* has a similar statement.

80. *SK*, I, pp. 116-17.

प्रतिहते प्राणाख्ये वायौ उत्पद्यन्ते । He, therefore, considers the one as preceding the production of sound and the other as following it. How a process involved in the articulation of sound comes in after its production is unintelligible.<sup>81</sup> Production (*utpatti*) is, perhaps, to be taken here as referring not to the audible sound but to the stage when the articulator (*karaṇa*) is in the required form of contact with the place of articulation (*sthāna*). Bh.D has no explanation. NBh. does not enter into the question of this sequence at all.

Among the eight bāhyaprayatnas accepted by all, *vivāra*, *śvāsa* and *aghoṣa* go together and pertain to one set of sounds in the alphabet, and *samvāra*, *nāda* and *ghoṣa* also go together and pertain to the rest of the sounds. In the Ny. it is pointed out that *vivāra* and *samvāra* are the basic prayatnas and the other two in each group are only consequential effects.<sup>82</sup> It is difficult to find any real difference between *nāda* and *ghoṣa* or between *śvāsa* and *aghoṣa*.<sup>83</sup> It is, therefore, possible to reduce the bāhyaprayatnas pertaining to āntarātamyaparīkṣā to four, namely, *alpaprāṇa* and *mahāprāṇa* and one each from the two groups of three. But neither Bh.D or NBh. has considered this, nor, for that matter, any later grammarian.<sup>84</sup>

81. *Nageśa*, presumably following Bh.D, complicates the clear statement of *Kaiyāṭa* by taking it as relating to the efforts before and after production : आरम्भ इति...यत्नानां मध्ये प्रथमं वर्णोत्पत्तेः पूर्वमारम्भमाण इत्यर्थं...मूर्धिन प्रतिहते बण्डोत्पत्तेः पूर्वं स्पृष्टतादयः, पश्चान्तिवृत्ते प्राणाख्ये इत्यन्वयः कैयटे ।

82. प्राणो नाम वायुः ऊर्ध्वमाक्रामन् मूर्धिन प्रतिहतो निवृत्तो यदा कोष्ठमभिहन्ति तदा कोष्ठेऽभिहन्यमाने गलविलस्य संवृतत्वात् संवारो नाम वर्णधर्मं उपजायते, विवृतत्वाद् विवारः । संवृते गलविलेऽव्यक्तः शब्दो नादः, विवृते इवासः...तत्र यदा स्थानाभिघातजे ध्वनी नादोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा नादध्वनिसङ्गाद् घोषो जायते, यदा इवासोऽनुप्रदीयते तदा इवासध्वनि-सङ्गादधोषः ।

83. Manomohan Ghosh considers it even possible that a marginal note in MBh. explaining *śvāsnāda* as *ghosavadaghosata* crept into the text, but that it has occurred as early as 600 A.D. (Vide his *Pāṇiniyāstikṣa*, p. 56).

84. Vaidyanātha, the author of the *ṭippaṇī*, *Chāyā*, says that although four may suffice, the enumeration of the rest is in accordance with Śikṣas (vide *Mahābhāṣya*, *Navāhnikā*, 5th edition, Nirnay asagar Press, Bombay, 1951, p. 242).

From the above examination of the phonetic observations of NBh. and Bh.D, it can be seen that neither of them discusses these topics at any length, these being incidental to the study of grammar. But NBh. follows the MBh. and the *Prātiśākhyas* more closely than Bh.D. Although, broadly speaking, Bhaṭṭoji is a conservative, confining himself to the *trimuni*, and Bhaṭṭa a liberal, freely drawing from extraneous sources as well, with regard to these phonetic topics we find them to have changed their positions.

## SANSKRITISM IN PALI\*

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All possible combinations of consonants may be seen in Sanskrit. On the other hand, the scope of such developments is limited in Pali. In certain cases, under certain circumstances, some combinations of consonants occur. By Sanskritism we mean the retentions of those combinations of consonantal clusters which, as a rule, undergo some modification, either in the shape of an assimilation or an anaptyxis or a metathesis, in Middle Indo-Aryan. Pali as an MIA dialect shows a number of traits which may be called Sanskritisms.

In Pali, a conjunct consonant occurring in the beginning of a word is generally, dropped (*cf.*, *prāṇa*>*pāṇa*). However, rules of sandhi sometimes allow double consonants at the beginning of a word to be retained. *E.g.* :

### Sandhi (initial)

*anvakāsi* (Th. i. 869) 'threw down,' *anu+akāsi*.

*anvakkhara* (Vin. iv. 15) 'syllable after syllable.'

*anvagā* (Mhvs. 7, 10) 'followed'; *cf.*, *anugā* (J v. 258), *anvagū* (Sn. 586).

*anvaddhamāsaṃ* (Vin. iv. 315) 'every fortnight, twice a month'.

*anvadeva* (M iii. 172) 'behind, after'; *anu+d+eva* (with euphonic 'd'); *cf.*, *anudeva* (Sv. 1.), Skt. *anvag+eva*.

*anvaya* (D ii. 83) 'conformity, accordance,' *anu+~i*; *anvayata* (M i. 500) 'conformity'.

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*anvaham* (Dāvs. iv. 8) 'daily'.

*anvāgacchati* (J i. 454) 'to come back again'.

*anvāgata* (J v. 4) 'having attained'.

*anvādisāhi* (Pv. ii. 22) 'to advise'.

*anvāmaddati* (J iii. 481) 'to squeeze'.

*anvaya* (D i. 13) 'in consequence of'; *anvāyika* (J iii. 384) 'following'.

*anvārohati* (J iv. 465) 'to ascend'.

*anvāviṭṭha* (S i. 114) 'possessed' (by evil spirits); *anvāvisati* (M i. 326) 'to visit'.

*anvāsanna* (Ud. 15) 'clung on to,' *anu+ā+√sañj*; *anvāsattata* (Dh. A 1. 287) 'attachment to'.

*anvasavati* (D i. 70) 'to stream into'.

*anvāhata* (Dh. 39) 'struck, beaten'.

*anvāhīndati* (A iv. 374) 'to wander about'.

*anvati* (Sn. 1103) 'to follow', *anu+√i*.

*anvesa* (M i. 140) 'seeking, investigation'; *anvesati* (S i. 112) 'to search'.

*kvattho* (Ud. 50), *ko+attha*.

*yvāyam* (M i. 258), *yo+ayam*; *yvāssa* (M i. 137), *yo+assa*.

*svākāra* (Vin. i. 6) 'being of a good disposition', *su+ākara*.

*svākkhāta* (Vin. i. 12) 'well preached'; opp., *durakkhata* (Vism. 213).

*svāgata* (Vin. ii. 11) 'welcome'.

*svātana* (Vin. i. 27) 'relating to the morrow'; cf., Skt. *svastana*.

*svātivatta* (Sn. 785) 'easily overcome', *su+ativatta*.

*svāssu* (J i. 196) *so+assu*; *svāham*, *so+aham*.

Pali does not usually tolerate more than two consonants. There are, however, a few exceptions. E.g. :

*indriya* (M i. 269) 'senses'; *hantvā* (Sn. 121) 'killing'; *mantrā* (Mhvs. 12, 50) 'consulting'.

In Pali 'r' generally shows a tendency to retain its sandhi with dentals (*t*, *d* etc.) and labials (*b* etc.):

**t**—*atra* (J i.414) 'here' ; *atriccha* (J i.414) 'greedy, very covetous' ; *atricchā* (J iv.456) 'great desire' ; *atricchata* (J iii.222) 'excessive greed' ; *atrajā* (J iii.111) 'born of one's own, son' ; *utrasta* (Sn. 986) 'frightened' ; *utrāsa* (J ii. 8) 'terror' ; *gotrabhū* (Aug. v. 23) 'because of the lineage' ; *citra* (J vi.496) 'multicoloured' ; *tatra* (Vin. i.10) 'there' ; *yatra* (J i.59) 'where' ; *vicitra* (Miln. 196) 'eloquent'.

**d**—*udraya* (J iv.398) 'result' in phrases *dukkha* and *sukha* ; *udriyanam* (J i.72) 'bursting or splitting open' ; *udriyati* (Vin. i. 148) 'is split up' ; *bhadra* (S i.117) 'happy'.

**b**—*abrahmacariya* (Sn. 396) 'unchastity, an immoral life' ; *brahmañña* (D i.115) 'brahmāhood' ; *brahmaññata* (D iii.145) 'state of the brahman' ; *brahmatta* (Vism. 301) 'state of a Brahmā God' ; *brahmā* (Vin. i.5) : *brahā* (Sn. 410) 'very great' ; *brahati* (J iv. 213) ; *brāhmaṇi* (J v.127) 'wife of a brahman' , *brūti* (Sn. 308) 'to say' ; *brūmeti* (D i.95) 'to say' ; *brūhana* (Miln. 313) 'expansion' : *brūheti* (Sn. 324) 'to cause to grow'.

The suffixes *-tvā* and *-tvāna*, when added to roots, retain the suffix unchanged. cf. :

**From roots in *ā* :**

*janitvā* (J i.293) from  $\sqrt{jñā}$  ; *datvā* (J i.152) from  $\sqrt{dā}$  ; *thatvā* (Sn. 887) from  $\sqrt{sthā}$  : *pitvā (na)* (Dh. 205) from  $\sqrt{pā}$ , *hitvāna* (Sn. 60) from  $\sqrt{hā}$ .

**From roots in *i* :**

*jitvā* (Th. i.336) from  $\sqrt{ji}$ .

**From roots in *u* :**

*sutvā* (Sn. 30), *sutvāna* (Sn. 202) and *sunitvā* (J v.96) from  $\sqrt{srū}$ .

*bhavitvā* (Sn. 56), *hutvā* (Sn. 43) and *hutvāna* (Sn. 281) from  $\sqrt{bhū}$ .

From roots in *r* :

*katvā* (Sn. 127) and *katvāna* (Sn. 89) from  $\sqrt{kr}$ .

## From roots in mutes :

*mutvā* (J i.375) from  $\sqrt{muc}$ ; *vatvā* (SnA. 398) from  $\sqrt{vac}$ ; *chetvāna* (Dh. 283) from  $\sqrt{chd}$ ; *pacityā* (PVA. 10) from  $\sqrt{pac}$ ; *khadityā* (J i.266) from  $\sqrt{khad}$ ; *akkamitva* (Vin. i.188) from *a* +  $\sqrt{kram}$ .

The declensional suffixes, such as *-smā*, *-smiṁ* etc., produce a large number of forms. A few are given below :

**Ablative** : *sakhārasmā* (J iii.534); *kasmā* (Sn. 883); *asmā* (Sn. 185).

**Locative** : *imasmiṁ* (J ii.159); *asmiṁ* (Sn. 634).

The 'e' of (*ke, te, me* and 'o' *ko, kho, so, yo*, etc. lead, at times, to Sanskritisms. Thus, we have :

*kyassa*, *ke + assa*); *tyassa* (Dh.A i. 116) (*te + assa*); *tyāham* (M i. 13) (*te + aham*); *tyaithu* (Th. ii. 157) (*te + atthu*); *myayam*, (*me + ayam*); *myaham*, (*me + aham*); *kvattho* (Vv. 50) (*ko + attha*); *khvāssa* (M. i.68) (*kho + assa*); *yvāyam* (M. i.258) (*yo + ayam*); *yvāssa* (M i. 137) (*yo + assa*).

The combination of 'h + consonant' is not rare. E.g.: *brahmacariya* (Vin. i.12), *brāhmanāse* (Sn. 1017), *brahmatta* (Vism. 301).

Combination of *k, g, t, b, l* and *v* with *y* exhibit Sanskritisms :

*k+y* : *vākyā* (J iv.5) 'speech, saying'; *sākyā*.

*g+y* : *ārogya* (Sn. 749) 'absence of illness, health'; *bhāgya* (J v.484) 'good luck'.

*t+y* : *tyamhi* (J vi. 292), loc. sg.; *tyasu* (J v. 368), loc. pl. fem. (cf. *tāsu*).

*b+y* : *byagā* (Th. i. 170) 'departed', (*vi +  $\sqrt{gam}$* , (aor.); *byaggha* (J ii. 10) 'a tiger'; cf., *vyaggha* (J i.357), *byagghini* (Miln 67); *byāñjato* (Miln. 18), *byatta* (Miln. 21) 'learned', *vyatta* (J vi. 368); *byatītā* (Miln 349) 'experience'; *byapagata* (Miln. 225) 'departed'; *byappattha* (Vin. iv. 2); *byamha* (V v. 52) 'celestial mansion'; *byādhī* (Miln. 351) 'sickness'; *byādhita* (Miln. 168) 'afflicted with disease' ;

*vyādhita* (J v.497) ; *byādheti* (Th. i.46) 'to cause to weaver, unsettle' ; *byāpajjha* (M i.10) 'trouble' ; *vyāpajjha* (Vin. i. 183) ; *byāpanna* (S ii.168) 'malevolent'; *byāpada* (M i.438) 'malevolence'; *byābādha* (M i.416) 'evil, wrong' ; *vyāpanna* (D i 139) ; *byābadheti* (S v. 393) 'to injure' ; *byābhaṅgi* (Th. i. 623) 'a pole for carrying burdens' ; *byāma* (J i.12), cf., *vyāmappabha* 'a halo extending for a fathom around Buddha ; *byāruddha* (Sn. 936) 'obstructed' ; *byāvata* (Vv.A 213) 'covered' ; *vyāvata* (J 1. 89) 'busy, active' ; *byāsatta* (Dh. 47) 'attached to'; *byūha* (Miln. 2) 'heal', *vyūha* (J iii.406) *byūhati* (Vv.A 104) 'to stand in array'.

*l+y* : *kalya* (Sn 680) 'pleased, glad' ; *kalyatā* (J ii. 12) 'the state of being sound, able' ; *kalyāṇa* (Vin. ii. 8) 'beautiful, charming, auspicious'; *piṇḍolya* (S iii. 93) 'asking for alms, alms-round'.

*v+y* : *vyādhi* (J vi. 224) 'sickness' ; *vyākasi* (Sn. 54i) 'explained' ; *vyañjana* (Sn. 549) 'sign, distinctive mark' ; *vyākta* (A i.119) 'explained'; *vyākaraṇa* (J i.34) 'prediction' ; *avyākata* (D i 187) 'unexplained'; *vyākaroti* (Sn. 10) 'explain' ; *vyākula* (J i.301) 'perplexed' ; *vyāpaka* (Pv.A 71) 'filling or summing up'; *vyapatte* (J iv.134) 'injury, harm,; *vyāpāra* (J i.341) 'business, occupation' ; *vyāyata* (J i 496) 'extended'; *vyāruddha* (Sn. 936) 'opposed' ; *vyāroṣa* (M iii.78) 'anger'; *vyālika* (Th. A 266) 'fault' ; *vyāvaddha* (J vi.530) 'moving about pell-mell'; *vyāsa* (Vism. 82) 'separation' : *vyāsaka* (D i.70) 'mixed'; *vyākaroti* (Vin. ii.214) 'to utter' ; *vyadhati* (Vin. ii.202) 'to tremble' ; *vyanta* (M i.93) 'removed'; *vyapagacchati* (J ii.407) 'to depart' ; *vyapagata* (J i.17) 'departed' ; *vyasanna* (D i. 248) 'misfortune': *vyamha* (J iv.464) ; *sahavyatā* (D i.18) 'companionship' ; *havya* (Sn. 490) 'an oblation'.

Combination of *v*, with *t*, *d*, and *s* also exhibit Sanskritisms :

*t+v* : *tvam* (Sn. 179) 'you'; *sutvā* (Vin. i.12) 'hearing'.

*d+v* : *dvāra* (Vin. i.15) 'a gate, door' ; *dvaya* (Sn. 886) 'two-fold' ; cf., also *advaya* (A v. 46) 'single'; *dvārikā* (Dh.A iv.221) ; *dvikkhattum* (Nd<sup>2</sup> 296) 'two-fold'; *dvitta* (S i.117) 'two or three ; *dviha* (J i.253) 'in two parts': *dvihā* (M i.88) 'two days'; *dvihika* (M i.77) 'every other day'; *dvējjha* (J iv. 77) 'divided'.

*s + v* : *svāgata* (Vin. ii.11) 'welcome'; *svātana* (J ii.11).

Combination of *s* with *t* and *m* also exhibit Sanskritisms :

*s + t* : *utrasta* (Sn. 986) 'frightened'; *odhasta* (M i.124) 'fallen down'; *bhasta* (J iii. 278) 'a he-goat'.

*s+m* : *āyasmā* (Sn. 814) 'reverend sir'; *bhasma* (J iii. 426) 'ashes'.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The editions of the texts referred to are those published by the Pali Text Society, London. The Roman and Arabic figures in the references refer, respectively, to the volume and page numbers.

|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| A      | <i>Ānguttara-nikāya.</i>         |
| D      | <i>Dīgha-nikāya.</i>             |
| Dāvs.  | <i>Dāṭha-vāmsa,</i>              |
| Dh.    | <i>Dhammapada.</i>               |
| Dh.A   | <i>Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā.</i>    |
| J      | <i>Jātaka.</i>                   |
| M      | <i>Majjhima-nikāya.</i>          |
| Mhvs.  | <i>Mahāvāmsa.</i>                |
| Miln.  | <i>Milinda-Pañha.</i>            |
| Nd.2   | <i>Niddesa II : Cullaniddesa</i> |
| Pv.    | <i>Petavatthu.</i>               |
| Pv.A   | <i>Petavatthu-āṭṭhakathā.</i>    |
| S      | <i>Samyutta-nikāya.</i>          |
| Sn.    | <i>Sutta-nipāta.</i>             |
| Sn.A   | <i>Sutta-nipāta-āṭṭhakathā.</i>  |
| Th. i  | <i>Thera-gāthā.</i>              |
| Th. ii | <i>Therī-gāthā</i>               |
| Ud.    | <i>Udāna.</i>                    |
| Vin.   | <i>Vinaya-piṭaka.</i>            |
| Vism.  | <i>Visuddhimagga.</i>            |
| Vv.A   | <i>Vimānavatthu-āṭṭhakathā.</i>  |

SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA :  
A STUDY IN MYTHOLOGICAL SYMBOLISM

By

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Bhāsa, who seems to be deeply steeped in Hindu mythology, possesses more than ordinary sensitiveness to words and images which express the emotional experience of the people and utilizes to the maximum their evocative power and communicates it to us as fully and richly as he had received it. In his masterpiece, *Svapnavāsavadatta*, he employs, with refreshing zeal, the primordial symbols of snake and lute around which have clustered innumerable mythological tales and anecdotes in our literature. The snake and lute, though two separate symbols, are yet traditionally inseparable, embracing each other in perfect harmony. Both together form one composite symbol and represent man's primal desires. Holding at its centre the rich pollen of intoxicating Dream, the play exfoliates its petals outwards from this wonderful symbol of snake and lute concealed craftily in its stem.

Bhāsa is very fond of the snake. There is hardly any play in which he does not mention the snake. In *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* IV. 13, the captured Yaugandharāyaṇa is compared to an angry snake. The abducted Sītā is compared to a struggling female serpent in *Pratima*, VI. 2. In *Abhiṣeka*, I. 5, Sugrīva acknowledges the force of Rāma's arrow that will pierce the heart of Vālin and will then come back to him after it has penetrated through the earth, entered the serpent's abode, and passed through the ocean. In *Madhyamavyāyoga*, I. 8, the frightened Brahmin is compared to an afflicted serpent. *Pañcarātra* describes (I. 10) how the five serpents, frightened by fire, rushed out of the holes together. Vāsuki, the king of serpents, is referred to in *Dūtavākyā* (Act I). The hero of *Karṇabhāra* prizes virtue most, for fortune

is fickle like a serpent's tongue (I. 17). In *Bālacakita* the Kālindī is described as full of snakes (I. 18). And, in *Carudatta* the snake is referred to thrice (I. 11, III. 5, III. 11).

But nowhere does the snake figure with such symbolic force and mythic import as in the marvellous Fifth Act of *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Here, we meet the Vidūṣaka who, at the front arch of the *Samudragṛha*, mistakes garland for a serpent :

विदूषकः— एसो खु दीवप्पभावसूइदरुवो वसुधातले परिवत्तमाणो अशं काश्रोदरो ।

To this Udayana rejoins :

राजा— (प्रविश्यावलोक्य सस्मितम्) अहो सर्पव्यक्तिर्वेदेयस्य ।

ऋज्वायतां हि मुखतोरणलोलमालां  
भ्रष्टां क्षितौ त्वमवगच्छसि मूर्खं ! सर्पम् ।  
मन्दानिलेन निशि या परिवर्तमाना  
किञ्चित्करोति भुजगस्य विचेष्टितानि ॥ ३ ॥

Exactly this very scene with a slight variation has been borrowed by Kālidāsa in *Vikramorvaśiyam* where Urvaśī drops a birch-leaf between Purūravas and Māṇavaka and the latter cries : अविहा अविहा ! भो कि नु खञ्चेत्तदुजडगनिर्मोक्त इव संमुखेऽस्माकं निपत्तितम् । and Purūravas immediately sets him right : भूर्जपत्रगतोयमक्षरविन्यासः (Act II). But, whereas in Kālidāsa it merely provokes laughter, in Bhāsa, apart from its comic radiance, the very utterance of snake in the *Samudragṛha* evokes age-old mythological associations between snake and sea, on the one hand, snake and lute, on the other. And, then, both snake and lute are dexterously related with symbolic significance to the Dream proper that itself opens its petals in the *Samudragṛha*.

According to Hindu mythology there is a close connection between snake and sea, and snake and lute. In the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, two Nāgarājās, viz., Ananta and Vāsuki, participate in the churning of the primeval ocean.<sup>1</sup> At another place Viṣṇu, the supreme deity, is shown reclining on the coils

1. *Mahābhārata*, *Adi-parva*, ch. 18.

of Śeṣanāga in the primeval ocean<sup>2</sup>. Still another story tells us how Lord Kṛṣṇa brought the snake named Kāliya under his control.<sup>3</sup> This famous feat is depicted in many Indian paintings in which Lord Kṛṣṇa is shown standing on the hood of Kāliya and playing upon his celebrated flute.

Again, the serpent in Eastern and Western literature represents sexual desires. Rivett-Carnac, for instance, regards the snake as a symbol of the phallus.<sup>4</sup> Professor J. P. De Souze, while referring to the stone slabs called *nāgakkals* "whereon are carved various serpent forms" and which "are votive gifts from women who desire offspring", says that "the phallic suggestiveness of the symbol of the copulating serpents wherever it occurs, be it in ancient Mesopotamia where this particular symbol originated, or in ancient Greece where it forms an indispensable part of the Caduceus of Hermes, or in India where it figures on the *nāgakkals*, makes it a most expressive symbol of procreation."<sup>5</sup> Milton describes how Satan "enclosed in serpent ....toward Eve addressed his way" and "curled many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve, to lure her eye."<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare calls Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, the "serpent of old Nile."<sup>7</sup>

The connection between snake and lute is more apparent in *Svapnavāsavadatta*. Here, the lute is called *Ghoṣavatī*.<sup>8</sup> It had seven strings and used to be played by the bharatas in the clan of Vatsarāja.<sup>9</sup> Literally, the word 'goṣavatī' means' one that produces a captivating sound.' Udayana had obtained this magic lute as a gift from the serpent Vāsunemi, the brother of

2. *Ibid.*, *Bhīṣma-parva*, ch.67, and *Santi -parva*, ch. 347. See also *Viṣṇu Purana*, (Wilson's translation), p. 634.

3. See *The Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, tr. into English by J. M. Sanyal, Vol.I, (Calcutta, 1952), Bk. III, ch. 2, p. 10.

4. J.H. Rivett-Carnac, 'Snake Symbol in India', *J. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1879, p. 13.

5. 'The serpent as a symbol of life and immortality', *Journal of Indian History*, 44 (1966) 452.

6. *Paradise Lost*, Book IX, lines 82-518.

7. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I.v.25.

8. In *Mṛchhakaṭika*, Act V, two kinds of lutes are mentioned, one with seven holes (*saptacchidra*), and the other with seven strings (*saptatantri*).

9. See *Pratijñāyaugandharāyanam*, Act II.

Vāsuki, whom he had protected from a Śabara in his young age.<sup>10</sup> The lute has connection also with the sea. It is traditionally associated with the fourteen jewels churned out of the ocean.<sup>11</sup> Sweet to the ear, it could captivate the hearts of elephants.<sup>12</sup> In *Cārudatta*, Bhāsa describes its virtues :

उत्कण्ठितस्य हृदयानुगता सखीव  
सङ्कोणदोषरहिता विषयेषु गोष्ठी ।  
कीडारसेषु मदनव्यसनेषु कान्ता  
स्त्रीणां तु कान्तरतिविघ्नकरी सपत्नी ॥३.१ ॥<sup>13</sup>

While Udayana played on the lute, Vāsavadattā, like the sensitive snake, would become charmed by the haunting music that softly and steadily roused her slumbering passions. And, Vāsavadattā, the wine of primeval desires, intoxicated and haunted Udayana like a passion.

It is this highly wrought symbol of snake and lute with its deep meaning that has been vigorously pursued in *Svapna-vāsavadatta*. Concupiscence is the leading motive in this comedy of passion. The very opening mangalaśloka in praise of Balarāma is highly suggestive. Very carefully and yet prominently it unfolds the main motive of the play through the wedded symbol of snake and lute artistically woven, like the names of its principal characters, in the garland words :

उदयनवेदुसवर्णावासवदत्तावलौ बलस्य त्वाम् ।  
पद्मावतीर्णपूर्णौ वसन्तकम्बौ भुजौ पाताम् ॥ १.१ ॥

Here, Balarāma's graceful arms are invoked to protect the spectators. Balarāma was the incarnation of Śeṣanāga. He was also fond of wine which warms up passions. The word *vasanta* means (1) the spring season—ideal for stimulating erotic desires,

10. See *Kathasaritsāgara*, 2. 1.78-81.

11. Cf., वीणा हि नाम समुद्रोत्थितं रत्नम् । (*Mrchhakaṭika*, Act III). Also, घोषवती नाम वीणारत्नम् (*Pratijñāyaugandharayanam*, Act II).

12. Refer to the following from (*Pratijñāyaugandharayanam* :

श्रतिसुखमधुरा स्वभावरक्ता करजमुखोलिखिताग्रघृष्टतन्त्री ।

ऋषिवचनगतेव मन्त्रविद्या गजहृदयानि बलाद्वशीकरोति ॥२.१२॥

13. Cf. Śudraka's version in *Mrchhakaṭika*, Act III.

and (2) *tāla* in music which is very pleasing to the ear. The music of the lute is also very pleasing to the ear. Then the word *kamra* which is an adjective from *√kam* 'to love' reveals very significantly the principal motive of primitive desires. In fact, the word *kāma* from *√kam* is repeated many times in the play as if to stress its key role. In the very first Act, it recurs as many as four times in conjunction with other words :

- (1) वासवदत्ता—अथ ! ण हि एवं वत्तुकामा । अहं वि णाम उस्सार-इदव्वा होमि त्ति ।
- (2) ब्रह्मचारी—ततस्तमभ्यवपत्तुकामो यौगन्धरायणो नाम सचिवत्तस्मिन्नेवाग्नौ पतितः ।
- (3) ब्रह्मचारी—ततः प्रतिनिवृत्तो राजा तद्वृत्तात्तं श्रुत्वा तथोवियोग-जनितसन्तापस्तस्मिन्नेवाग्नौ प्राणान् परित्यवत्तुकामोऽमात्यैर्महता यत्नेन वारितः ।
- (4) वासदत्ता—(स्वगतम्) सकामो दाणि अथजोअंधरायणो होदु ।

Udayana himself is called *Śaracāpahināh Kāmadevāḥ* in the third Act. Udayana's very first speech on the stage in the fourth Act is replete with *kāma*. Cf. :

कामेनोज्जयिनौ गते मयि तदा कामप्यदस्थां गते  
दृष्ट्वा स्वैरमवन्तिराजतनयां पञ्चेषवः पातितः ।  
तैरद्यापि सशल्यमेव हृदयं सूयश्च विद्वा वर्यं  
पञ्चेषु षडन्तो यदा कथमयं षष्ठः शरः पातितः ॥ ४.१ ॥

The *kāma* is more deeply excited in the third stanza :

मधुमदकला मधुकरा मदनार्ताभिः प्रियाभिरुपगूढाः ।  
पदन्यासविषणा वयसिव कान्तावियुक्ताः स्युः ॥४.३ ॥

Indeed, the sexual desire incubating within Udayana is shown through various erotic operations in Nature throughout the fourth Act. This is a very happy prelude to the Dream-Scene in which his subdued desires seek fullest satisfaction.

Set in the Samudragr̥ha, the Dream-Scene, in Act V, is the most marvellous feat ever achieved by any Sanskrit dramatist. Here, we truly feel the symbolic and mythic depth of the drama.

The beautiful entwined symbol of snake and lute adopted from the auspicious beginning and mythologically connected to the sea is now here stretched to its full with its lilting music and devouring desires even in dream as in real life to a fine spell of pleasant rhythmic notes. The Dream is a perfect musical symphony. Udayana, smitten with the arrows of love, now plays in his Dream, with gay abandon, on the seven strings of his Ghoṣavatī and Vāsavadattā, his sweetheart, as if re-united after long separation, answers 'yes' to every call of Udayana's 'where', to merge and mingle, ultimately, in the vast ocean of Udayana's throbbing passions. Significantly, there are Udayana's seven dream-speeches and equal in number are the striking responses (not replies) of Vāsavadattā :

- (1) उदयनः—(स्वध्नायते) हा वासवदत्ते !
- (1) वासवदत्ता—(सहस्रत्याय) हं, अथ्यउत्तो ? ण हु पदुमावदी ? कि णु खु दिट्ठिहि ? महतो खु अथ्ययोगंधराग्रणस्स पदिण्णाहारो यम दंसणेण णिप्फळो संवुत्तो ।
- (2) उदयनः—हा अवन्तिराजपुत्रि !
- (2) वासवदत्ता—दिट्ठिआ सिविणाश्रदि खु अथ्यउत्तो । ण एत्थ कोच्चिच जणो । जाव मुहुत्तश्रं चिट्ठिश्र दिट्ठि हिअश्रं च तोसेमि ।
- (3) उदयनः—हा प्रिये ! हा प्रियशिष्ये ! देहि भे प्रतिवचनम् ।
- (3) वासवदत्ता—आळवामि भट्टा ! आळवामि ।
- (4) उदयनः—कि कुपितासि ?
- (4) वासवदत्ता—णहि णहि, दुक्षिखदम्हि !
- (5) उदयनः—यद्यकुपिता, किमर्थं नालंकृतासि ?
- (5) वासवदत्ता—इदो वरं कि ?
- (6) उदयनः—कि विरचिकां स्मरसि ?
- (6) वासवदत्ता—(सरोषम्) आ अवेहि, इहावि विरचिआ ?
- (7) उदयनः—तेन हि विरचिकार्थं भवतीं प्रसादयामि । (हंस्तौ प्रसारयति ।)
- (7) वासवदत्ता—चिरं ठिदहि । को वि मं पेक्खे । ता गमिसं । अहव सद्यावव्यं बिश्रं अथ्यउत्तस्स हृत्यं सग्रणीए आरोविश्रं गमिसं ।

The seven dream-speeches respresent seven notes played on the seven strings of Ghosavatī, each stirring a responsive vibration in the heart of Vāsavadattā, as if the ocean of love in her swelled at each gentle touch. No wonder, this tumult of passions is conveyed at the end of the Scene in the tumultuous breakings of waves in a mighty ocean :

उपेत्य नागेन्द्रतुरङ्गतीर्णे  
तमारुणि दारणकर्मदक्षम् ।  
विकीर्णवाणोपतरङ्गभङ्गे  
महार्णवामे युधि नाशयामि ॥ ५. १३ ॥

What was so far implicit is made explicit in the last Act of the drama. The essential kernel is laid bare before us without any inhibitions. Ghosavatī pining for her master's touch on the bank of Narmadā is returned to Udayana, who, at her sight, bursts nostalgically into a reminiscent mood :

श्रुतिसुखनिनदे ! कथं नु देव्याः  
स्तनयुगले जघनस्थले च सुप्ता ।  
विहगगणरजोविकीर्णदण्डा  
प्रतिभयमध्युषितास्थरण्यवासम् ॥ १ ॥

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धोणीसमुद्भवनपाश्वनिपीडितानि  
खेदस्तनान्तरसुखान्युपगूहितानि ।  
उद्विश्य मां च विरहे परिदेवितानि  
वाद्यान्तरेषु कथितानि च सस्मितानि ॥ २ ॥

Udayana makes the frank admission :

चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधितः ।

To arouse *ciraprasupta kāma* is, verily, the theme of *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, which has been adroitly transmitted through the mythological symbol of snake and lute.

AVANTISUNDARIKATHĀ AND DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA :  
TWO DIFFERENT WORKS OF ACĀRYA DANĀDIN\*

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Rājaśekhara attributes to Daṇḍin the authorship of three literary works (*prabandhas*) in the following verse :

trayo 'gnayas trayo vedās trayo devās trayo gunāḥ |  
trayo Daṇḍiprabandhāś ca triṣu lokeṣu viśrutāḥ ||<sup>1</sup>

Taking the *Kāvyādarśa* and *Daśakumārācarita* to be two of the works referred to, scholars have made various conjectures about the third work. With the discovery, in 1919, of manuscripts of *Avantisundarīkathā* and the reference by Bhoja to a *Dvisandhānakāya*,<sup>2</sup> both ascribed to Daṇḍin, the previous surmises about the third work<sup>3</sup> have come to rest, but instead, a new problem has arisen: how to account for the statement of Rājaśekhara, since we have, now, four works, instead of three, claiming Daṇḍin as their author. To steer clear of this difficulty, some scholars have tried to reject Daṇḍin's authorship of the *Avantisundarīkathā*, on the plea that the style and diction of the *Daśakumārācarita* differs from that of the *Avantisundarīkathā*.

It has, however, to be noted that all that Rājaśekhara's statement seems to mean is that Daṇḍin composed three literary

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1. Cp., *Sāringadharapaddhati*, 174; *Sūktimuktāvali*, 4. 74; also quoted in *Śringāraprakāśa* (*ŚPr.*), ch. 9, (Ed. G. R. Josyer, Mysore, 1963, vol. II, p. 328).

2. Cp., *ŚPr.* IX (vol. II, p. 318), XI (vol. II, p. 478), which makes a reference to, and a citation from the work; cp., V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śringāraprakāśa*, (Madras, 1963), pp. 837-38.

3. These conjectures referred, to one or other of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Kalāpariccheda* and *Mallikāmāruta*, as the third work of Daṇḍin.

works which became well known in the three worlds. By three literary or poetic compositions (*prabandhas*), he must have meant the *Daśakumārācarita*, *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Dvisandhānakāvya*, and not the *Kāvyādarśa* which is a treatise on poetics, and, strictly speaking, not a *prabandha* (literary or poetic writing).<sup>4</sup> His statement, therefore, does not stand in our way of attributing to him the composition of any number of works, provided only three of them are poetic compositions.

Unfortunately, the romance *Avantisundarīkathā* is not available to us in complete form. Its anonymous summary in verse which has come down under the name *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* and which, too, is incomplete, carries the tale a little further up, viz., to the middle of the story of Upahāravarman. According to the colophon of the *Kathā*, the name of the work is *Avantisundarī* and that of its author, Ācārya Daṇḍin. In the introduction to the main narrative, it has been stated, in a manner similar to that followed by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*, that the story was narrated by Daṇḍin at the instance of his friends.<sup>5</sup> That the work belongs to Daṇḍin is further confirmed by a reference to and a citation from the work as Daṇḍin's in the *Nāmasaṅgrahamāṭā* of Appayya Dīkṣita (middle of the 16th century),<sup>6</sup> as also by the citation of a verse from it under Daṇḍin's name in the *Sūktiratnāhāra* of Kaliṅgarāya Sūrya (14th century),<sup>7</sup> as pointed out by V. Raghavan.<sup>8</sup> It may also be noted that the meaning of the panegyric of the poetess Gaṅgādevī (c. 1350 A.D.) who glorified Ācārya Daṇḍin's

4. Cp., for the precise meaning of the term, Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, V. S. Apte, *A Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (rev. edn.), *Śabdakalpadruma* etc. Cp. *Mālavikāgnimitra* I (prologue); *Vāsavadattā*, Intro., verse 13; *Śisupālavadha*, 2. 73; *Kāvyādarśa*, 2. 364; 3. 131 for the use of the term in this precise sense.

5. *Avantisundarīkathā* (ASK), Ed. K. S. Mahadeva Sastri, (Trivandrum, 1954), p. 17; *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* (ASKS), Ed. G. Harihara Sastri, (Madras, 1957), I. 57-63; III. 1-2; cp., *Harṣacarita*, (Ed. M. R. Kale, Bombay), p. 92.

6. Cp. *nirastapallavesu* *Kāñci* *nāma* *nāgarī* *ity* *Avantisundarīye* *Dandiprayogāt*, with ASK p. 8, *nayasambhāvānānāpallavesu* (*pallavesu*) *rājā* *babhūva*; and p. 6, *Kāñcīpuram* *nāma* *rājadhānī*.

7. Ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, (Trivandrum, 1938, TSS 141), p. 4, v. 17; cp., the verse in ASK, p. 1, v. 3.

8. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 13 (1939) p. 294, and *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, 5 (1940-41) pt. ii, p. 4.

poetry as dipped in ambrosia and as a jewelled mirror of Sarasvati,<sup>9</sup> can well be understood with reference to the *Avantisundarīkāthā* which displays, on the one hand, the author's ability in the delineation of sentiments (and hence is dipped in ambrosia) and exhibits, on the other, his pedantic scholarship which beautifully mirrors Sarasvati, and which has the characteristics worthy of a poet of the calibre of Ācārya Daṇḍin.

Apart from the main ground on which Daṇḍin's authorship of the romance is objected to, namely, the apparent difference in style and diction found displayed in his other work, *Daśakumāracarita*—which question I shall take up later—the other objections made to his authorship of the *Kathā* are:<sup>10</sup> (i) the presence of supernatural elements about the *gandharva* who sings an *āryā* verse of Dāmodara,<sup>11</sup> (ii) the half-biographical and half-fanciful nature of the story of Daṇḍin,<sup>12</sup> (iii) want of a clear indication of authorship in the body of the work, (iv) non-mention of the *Kirātārjunīya* when its author, Bhāravi, has been mentioned,<sup>13</sup> and (v) the meagre extent of the text. Some of these objections, especially the last, evidently refer to the older edition of the work,<sup>14</sup> and, as such, do not hold good now when we possess a much fuller text of the *Kathā*.<sup>15</sup> As regards the first objection, it may be remarked that there is nothing supernatural in the *gandharva*'s story except that he is a *gandharva*. The *gandharva* has been referred to as *abhinava-gandharva*, and it may be taken, with more plausibility, to mean simply a young singer. As the *Kathā* tells us, a young *gandharva* appears in the court of king *Siṁhavīṣṇu* of Kāñcī and sings an *āryā* verse. When asked about the composer of the verse, he mentions Dāmodarasvāmin as its

9. *Madhuravijaya*, (Ed. G. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum, 1916), 1.10.

10. See S.K. De, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 3 (1927) 395-402, and *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, (Calcutta, 1959), pp.303 ff.; P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, (Bombay, 1961), p. 93 fn.; A. B. Keith, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, (Rep. Calcutta, 1958), Pref., p. xvi.

11. ASK p. 9; ASKS 1.16.

12. ASK pp. 2-17; ASKS 1.15-62.

13. ASK p. 10; ASKS 1.23.

14. Ed. M. R. Kavi, Madras, 1924.

15. Ed. K. S. Mahadeva Sastri, Trivandrum, 1954, References in this paper are to this edition.

author whom the king manages to bring to his own court, in due course.

The story of Daṇḍin, again, is fully biographical; it is only the description of the circumstances leading to his narration of the story of the *Kathā* which is somewhat fanciful.

As the story of Avantisundari is imaginary and not based on historical events as that of Harṣa, the author skilfully depicts its fanciful revelation to him by the grace of the god Viṣṇu, unlike, of course, Bāṇa who introduces his *ākhyāyikā* as having been based on his personal knowledge of Harṣa's life. Again, there is a clear indication of Daṇḍin's authorship in the body of the text.<sup>16</sup> The non-mention of *Kirātārjunīya* in the *Kathā* cannot be taken to prove much.

One of the arguments given against the theory of common authorship of the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Avantisundarikathā* and, for that reason, Daṇḍin's authorship of the latter, refers to the supposedly long gap in time between the composition of the two romances. It is argued that while the *Avantisundarikathā* reflects the literary tendencies of the post-Bāṇa period, the other romance must have preceded the works of Bāṇa and even that of Subandhu. It may be urged, however, that it is not safe to base the dating of a particular work exclusively on its style, for there can be factors other than the general tendencies of the age which may have an impact on the style of the work. In the present case, we should better attribute the more lucid style and diction of the *Daśakumāracarita* to its writer's genuine spirit to revolutionise the literary norm of the time and also to his realistic outlook on life and people, rather than connect it with the supposed period of simplicity of diction. In fact, the period assigned to the *Avantisundarikathā*, on the basis of the internal evidence it affords, suits well the *Daśakumāracarita* also; and there is no reason why the two works cannot be assigned to the post-Bāṇa period, precisely speaking, towards the close of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century A.D.<sup>17</sup>

16. ASK pp. 11-12, 17; cp. ASKS 1. 32, 57, 63.

17. The question has been thoroughly discussed by me in my work, *A critical study of Daṇḍin and his works*, pp. 85-93.

The main ground on which the common authorship of the two romances is objected to is the great divergence of style between the two works. While it must be conceded that the difference of style and manner of story-telling is indeed great, and that it presents real difficulty in regarding the two works as having originally formed parts of one and the same work, as some scholars believe,<sup>18</sup> it should not be taken to suggest that the two works could not have come from one and the same pen. We notice, in the literary field, instances where there is a difference and, at times, a marked difference, between the style of two works written by the same writer at two different periods of his literary career. We see, for instance, a wide gulf a style between the *Ritusamhara* and the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa, the earlier work representing his youthful spirit and the later, his mature mind. A similar gap can be observed between the earlier and later writings of Bhāsa and Bhavabhūti and of Virgil, Shakespeare, Tennyson and Goethe. The great writers who work steadily at their art are able to create in their ripe old age structures which naturally make their earlier works look quite different. In the present case, the difference in style and manner of story-telling between the two romances can well be accounted for by the supposition (which is by no means unfounded) that there might have been a pretty long gap of time, may be of thirty years or more, between the composition of the two works. While the *Daśakumāracarita* seems to reflect the writer's youthful spirit, his admiration for love and beauty, and his amusing sense of humour, and describes the life around him in a light-hearted manner, there is an unmistakable trait of serious and sober mood in the other work wherein he appears as an indifferent spectator of youth and romance. The graphic description, in the *Avantisundarikathā* (pp. 41-42), of old age, which clearly reflects a deep personal note, only supports the view that it has come from the writer in his ripe old age. During the long gap, the writer might have allowed himself to be strongly influenced, in general, by the literary tendencies of the age which

18. Cp., V. Raghavan in *J. of the Kerala Uni. MSS Library* 8 (1955) 104, *SPR.*, pp. 836-7; Kane : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 97 ; 98-9 ; G. Harihara Sastri, ASKS, Intro., pp. i-iv ; S. Kunjan pillai, ASK, Pref., p. 4. This question, which calls for a fuller discussion, has been dealt with by the present writer in his work on *Dandin*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-59.

evidently patronised ornate style and diction, and, in particular, by the laboured style of the works of Subandbu and Bāṇa. He might have been led by the desire to follow the poetic mannerisms of the age in his later work, in order to come up to the literary ideals of the time. His study of poetics also seems to have made an impact on his literary pursuits, resulting, on the one hand, in his composition of the *Kāvyādarśa* and, on the other, in his general preference for elaborate diction.

It may be made clear that the difference of style in the two works refers chiefly to the external devices of story-telling and especially to the elaboration of the theme with episodic tales and descriptive matter, and that it seldom relates to what we may call diction, which is intrinsically of affinitive nature in the two romances. Both the works exhibit the general characteristics of the *Vaidarbha* diction, with its ten qualities as enumerated in the *Kāvyādarśa*. Again, like the rhetorician, the author of the *Avantisundarikathā* pays his compliments to the *Vaidarbha-marga* and makes a hint to the effect that he has followed that path in the work. The essential affinity that binds the two works together refers, in particular, to the use of idioms and phrases that seem to be peculiar to the writer.

Apart from the common theme, which, of course, cannot by itself be taken to suggest the common authorship, there are striking points of affinity suggestive of a common mind at work in the two romances. Certain peculiar features in the form of common images, expressions and poetic embellishments peep through the two works. The intrinsic unity running through them is all the more prominent on the occasions when a common or similar object is described or an identical situation is presented in them. These points of resemblance would have been brought into fuller relief, if the earlier part of the *Daśakumārācarita* and the later part of the *Avantisundarikathā* had been preserved to us, for we could, then, have compared, with more definitive results, the two works, and seen how they dealt with the same course of narrative with similar incidents. At present, the portion of the narrative extant in the *Avantisundarikathā* is represented in the *Daśakumārācarita* by the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* which is, evidently, a patchwork of much later date; the authentic *Daśakumārācarita*

abruptly begins at a point up to which the available portion of the *Avantisundarikathā* does not carry the narrative. The gap in the thread of the tale<sup>19</sup> is furnished by the *Pūrvapīthikā* and the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*. While the *Pīthikā* presents numerous discrepancies with regard to the details of events, the *Kathāsāra* is happily a faithful summary of the *Avantisundarikathā*—faithful with regard both to the course of the narrative and of diction. The evidence of this verse compendium is of vital importance to us, for it, though itself incomplete, carries the narrative much farther than the original work available in incomplete form. Not only does it reach the point of the story where the authentic *Daśakumāracarita* begins, but also takes the tale as far as the middle of the story of Upahāravarman where he proceeds with his plan to seduce Kalpasundarī, as we find it in the *Daśakumāracarita* (up to p. 108). A close examination of the relevant part of the authentic *Daśakumāracarita* and the corresponding portion of the *Kathāsāra* reveals striking points of affinity between the two in point not only of matter, but also of diction, a considerable number of idioms and phrases, evidently peculiar to Daṇḍin's diction, occurring almost in identical form in both of them. The point of contact which strikes us most appertains to the description of the duties and functions of a courtesan's mother in grooming her daughter right from her childhood. Again, the citation of the verse, *tvām ayam ābaddhāñjali* etc. from the *Avantisundarikathā* (lost portion) in the *Kathāsāra* (which generally cites *verbatim* the sporadic verses of the original) is significant.<sup>20</sup> The verse occurs in the same context in the *Daśakumāracarita* (at p. 99) and the fact proves beyond doubt that the stanza originally occurred in both the romances and that the same writer was responsible for its occurrence in the two. There is also close resemblance in the story of the successive births of Kāmapāla outlined in the *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 127) and elaborated in the *Avantisundarikathā* as represented by its summary.<sup>21</sup>

19. That is, Rājavabha's coming back to the place where he left his friends, his visit to Ujjayani where he comes across Puspodbhava and later, Somadatta, and his marriage with the princess, Avantisundarī.

20. Cp., ASKS 7. 98.

21. Cp., ASKS 4. 161 ff. The portion is lost in the ASK, somewhere at p. 200, where five folios are missing. The manner of introducing the episode is very much similar. The *Kathāsāra* has : कीदृशस्ते शिशावस्मिन्

These points of similarity, which may not be dismissed as being merely accidental, can be explained only when we presume that the *Kathāsāra* retained, while summarising the story, a large number of idioms and phrases of the original, constituting the writer's diction in the *Avantisundarikathā*, which, in turn, must be presumed to have borne intimate affinity to the *Daśakumārācarita*, an earlier literary attempt of the writer.

The other link which connects the two romances relates to the employment of literary feats of similar nature, which are rarely noticed elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. While the *Daśakumārācarita* attempts the difficult feat of total avoidance of labial letters in the story of Mantragupta (*ucchvāsa* VII), the other romance makes one of its heroes, Somadatta, relate his tale in twenty-four soft letters only, as is evidenced by its summary in verse (ASKS VII. 14-48). It is possible that the lost portions of the *Daśakumārācarita* and the *Avantisundarikathā* also employed such kinds of *tour de force* in their stories of Somadatta and Mantragupta, respectively.<sup>22</sup>

Again, the two romances display unity on an important point in as much as both of them do not comply strictly with the rules either of the *ākhyāyikā* or of the *kathā*, and this disregard of convention in practice is in full consonance with the dictum of the *Kāvyādarśa* (1.28) which rejects the fine distinctions between the two forms.

The theory gets additional support from the fact that both the romances supply us, to a great extent, with common geographical data, and reflect almost identical political and social conditions and cultural atmosphere, though, of course, the *Daśakumārācarita* is not as rich in cultural data as the other romance, since it chiefly concentrates upon the narrative and

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भाव इत्यहमव्रवम् । औरसे यादृगित्युते तत्मूलं प्रभुरम्यधात् ।, while the *Daśakumārācarita*, (ed., M. R. Kale, Bombay, 1917), has : वाले, वालेऽस्मिन् कीदृशस्ते भाव इति । औरसे इवास्मिन् वत्से वत्सलतेति मया विज्ञापितः, 'सत्यमाह वराकी' इति तन्मूलामतिमहतीं कथामकरोत् ।

22. It may be noted that *Kāvyādarśa*, (3.83, 92-5) notices and describes such literary feats, as *sthāni* and *varṇaniyama*, while dealing with the *citrādusikaramārgas* in poetry.

seldom digresses into descriptions of varied nature and, for that reason, of cultural importance.

The tradition, therefore, of ascribing the two romances, though individually, to Dandin and the consequent theory of their common authorship should be regarded as established, unless, however, some positive evidence against the tradition comes forth by further discovery or research.

## DHANAMJAYA AND HIS *DVISAMDHĀNA*

By

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Two distinguished authors, of the name Dhanamjaya, are well known in Sanskrit literature. One is the author of the *Daśarūpaka*<sup>1</sup> and the other, the author of the *Dvisamdhāna-kāvya* (*DS*), also called *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* (*RP*).<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, the latter is also the author of two more works, one a Sanskrit lexicon, *Nāmamālā* or *Dhanamjaya-nighaṇṭu*,<sup>3</sup> and the second, a hymn in Sanskrit, *Viṣapahāra-stotra*,<sup>4</sup> in praise of the Jina, possibly R̥ṣabha. Lately, a good deal of fresh evidence has come to light; and it is necessary to take stock of the evidence regarding the *DS* and the age of Dhanamjaya. This, the present article attempts to do.

Dhanamjaya and his *DS* have attracted the attention of eminent Sanskrit scholars since almost the nineties of the last century. K.B. Pathak, while editing the *Terdāt* Inscription,<sup>5</sup> added a casual note that Śrutakīrti Traividya, mentioned in that record, is identical with Śrutakīrti Traividyadeva referred to by Pampa according to whom he was the author of *RP* in the *gata-pratyāgata* style. He identified Dhanamjaya with Śrutakīrti and assigned him to c. 1123 A.D. He repeated this view rather elaborately in a subsequent paper also.<sup>6</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar noticed two MSS. of *DS*.<sup>7</sup> Accepting Dhanamjaya as the author of the *Nāmamālā* as

1. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Edition, Bombay, Śaka 1819.

2. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, (*Kāvya-mālā*, No. 49), Bombay, 1895. A new edition will be soon published by the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Varanasi.

3. Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Benares, 1950.

4. Edn., *Kāvya-mālā* No. 7, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1926.

5. *Indian Antiquary*, 14 (1885) 14-26.

6. *The Journal of the BBRAS*, 21 (1904) 1-3.

7. *Report on the Search of Skt. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1884-85, 1885-86, and 1886-87*, Bombay, 1894.

well, he pointed out that *DS* is quoted in Vardhamāna's *Gāṇaratnamahodadhi* (A.D 1141). Presuming that the *RP* of Kavirāja was possibly imitated by Dhanamjaya, he put both of them between A.D. 996-1141, Dhanamjaya being considerably younger than Kavirāja. E.V. Vira Raghavacharya<sup>8</sup> reached the conclusion that Dhanamjaya, the author of the *Nāmamālā* and *DS*, flourished about 750 to 800 A.D., later than Kavirāja whom he assigns to 650-725 A.D. A. Venkatasubbiah studiously refuted K.B. Pathak and reached the following conclusions :<sup>9</sup> This Dhanamjaya is identical with Hemasena (c. 985) mentioned in the Śravaṇa Belgoḷ Inscription No. 54 (67) where he is called Vidyā-Dhanamjaya. In his opinion, it is not unlikely that this Hemasena is the author of the *RP* or the *DS-Kāvya*, and that it was written some time during A.D 916-1000. He puts Kavirāja and his *RP* somewhere between A.D. 1236-1307, as against Pathak who assigned him to A.D. 1182-97. Most of the histories of Sanskrit literature have quietly adopted this date for Dhanamjaya.

Among the three works attributed to Dhanamjaya, the *Viṣṇupahāra-stotra* is a devotional hymn in praise of Jina, presumably Viṣṇubha, in 40 Sanskrit verses (39 *Upajāti* and the last *Puṣpitāgrā*). It is composed in lucid language with catching concepts. The last verse mentions the name of the author by *sleṣa* :

वितरति विहिता यथाकर्यंचि-  
ज्जन विनताय मनीषितानि भक्तिः ।  
त्वयि नुतिविषया पुनर्विशेषाद्  
दिशति सुखानि यशो धनं जयं च ॥ ४० ॥

A Sanskrit commentary on it is available in the Jaina Maṭha at Moodabidri (S. Kanara).

The hymn gets its title possibly from the first word in verse No. 14; and a legend has come to be associated with this hymn that a recitation of it is an antidote against poison. Some of the ideas from it, which are quite traditional in their spirit, as

8. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, (Rajahmundry), 2. ii (1927), 181-84.

9. *JBBRAS* (New Series) 3. i-ii (1927) 134 f.

noted by Pt. Premi,<sup>10</sup> seem to have been adopted by Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* and by Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka*.

The *Nāmamālā*, also called, in some of its manuscripts, *Dhanamjaya-nighaṇṭu*, is a Sanskrit lexicon of synonyms. There is also an *Anekārīhanāmamālā* attributed to him. The following verses occur at the end of his *Nāmamālā*:

प्रमाणमकलङ्कस्य पूज्यपादस्य लक्षणम् ।  
द्विसंधानकवेः काव्यं रत्नत्रयमपश्चिमम् ॥ २०१ ॥  
कवेर्धनञ्जयस्येयं सत्कवीनां शिरोमणेः ।  
प्रमाणं नाममालेति इलोकानां हि शतद्वयम् ॥ २०२ ॥  
ब्रह्माणं समुपेत्य वेदनिनदव्याजात् तुषाराचल-  
स्थानस्थावरमीश्वरं सुरनदीव्याजातथा केशवम् ।  
अप्यस्मोनिधिशायिनं जलनिधिश्वानोपदेशादहो  
फूत्कुर्वन्ति धनञ्जयस्य च भिया शब्दाः समुत्पीडिताः ॥ २०३ ॥

In some manuscripts<sup>11</sup> the following two verses are found added after, perhaps, No. 201, *pramāṇam* etc. :

जाते जगति यात्मीकौ शब्दः कविरिति स्मृतः ।  
कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयश्चेति दण्डनि ॥  
कवयः कपयश्चेति बहुत्वं दूरमागतम् ।  
विनिवृत्तं चिरादेतत् कलौ जाते धनञ्जये ॥

It is interesting to note that the first verse, with the third *pāda* slightly different (*Vyāse jāte kavī ceti*), is attributed to Kālidāsa by Jalhaṇa in his *Suklīmuktāvali*.<sup>12</sup> It could not have been composed by Kālidāsa, because it contains a reference to Daṇḍin.

Dhanamjaya, as noted above, ranks his poetic abilities with those of Akalaṇka in *Pramāṇāśāstra* and of Pūjyapāda in grammar: a veritable triad of gems, two of them his outstanding predecessors. These verses leave, no doubt, that the author of the *DS* and of the *Nāmamālā* is one and the same. It seems quite natural that a

10. *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihasa*, pp. 109 f., Bombay, 1956.

11. See the paper of Vira Raghavacharya mentioned above.

12. Edn., GOS, No. 82, Baroda, 1938, p. 45.

poet with a thorough mastery over the ocean of Sanskrit vocabulary could easily compose a *dvisamdhāna* poem.

Dhanamjaya does not give any auto-biographical details. Nemicandra, in his commentary on the *DS*,<sup>13</sup> 118.146 states that Dhanamjaya was the son of Vasudeva and Sridevi and pupil of Daśaratha.

It is necessary to put together references to Dhanamjaya and his works so that some broad limits can be put to his date. Dhanamjaya and his works have received sufficient praise; and his poem was so distinguished that he came to be called *Dvisamdhāna-kavi*. The term *dvisamdhāna* seems to be as old as Daṇḍin (c. 7th century A.D.); and Bhoja's observations quoted below clearly indicate that Daṇḍin also, like Dhanamjaya, had a *Dvisamdhāna-prabandha* to his credit, though it has not come down to us. Possibly, it was Daṇḍin's third work besides the *Kavyādarśa* and the *Daśakumāracarita*.

Vardhamāna (A.D. 1141) quotes *DS* (of Dhanamjaya) 4.6, 9.51, 18.22, in his *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* 43, 409 and 97 of Egging's edition.

Bhoja (middle of the 11th century A.D.), while discussing the *Ubhayaḍāṇḍakāra*, gives the valuable information that Daṇḍin wrote a *Dvisamdhāna-prabandha* on the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata*.<sup>14</sup> Cf.,

तृतीयस्य यथा दण्डिनो धनञ्जयस्य या द्विसन्धानप्रबन्धौ रामायणमहा-  
भारतार्थाविनुबन्धनाति (?)

For our purpose what is significant is that Bhoja mentions Dhanamjaya and his *DS* along with Daṇḍin and his *DS-Prabandha*.

Prabhācandra (11th century A.D.) refers in his *Prameya-kamalamārtanda* to the *DS* thus:<sup>15</sup>

13. Nemicandra's commentary is included in the Jñānapīṭha edition which would be published soon.

14. V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śringaraprakāśa*, (Madras, 1963), p. 406.

15. Ed., N. S. Press, (Bombay, 1912), p. 116, lines 1 ff. ; Bombay 1941, p. 402.

ननु व्याकरणादभ्यासाल्लौकिकपदवाक्यार्थंप्रतिपत्तौ तदविज्ञिष्टवैदिकपदवाक्यार्थ-  
प्रतिपत्तिरपि प्रसिद्धेरभुतकाव्यादिवत् । तन्न वेदार्थंप्रतिपत्तावतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शना किञ्चित्प्रयो-  
जनमित्यप्यतारत् । लौकिकवैदिकपदानामेकत्वेऽप्यनेकार्थत्वव्यवस्थितेरन्यपरिहारेण व्या-  
विख्यासितार्थस्य नियमयितुमशक्तेः । न च प्रकरणादिभ्यस्तन्नियमस्तेषामप्यनेकप्रवृत्ते-  
द्विसन्धानादिवत् ।

Vādirāja, in his *Pārvanāthacarita*,<sup>16</sup> composed in A.D. 1025, refers to Dhanamjaya and his skill in more than one *sāmdhāna* :

अनेकभेदसन्धानाः खनन्तो हृदये मृहः ।

बाणा धनञ्जयोऽमुक्ताः कर्णस्येव प्रिया: कथम् ॥ १.२६ ॥

Durgasiṁha (c. 1025 A.D.), the author of the Kannada *Pāmcatantra*,<sup>17</sup> refers to the *RP* of Dhanamjaya in these words :

अनुष्मकविवरं जीवेने राघवपांडवीयम् पेक्षदु यशो-  
वनिताधीश्वरनादं धनञ्जयं वारवधूप्रियं केवलने ॥ ७ ॥

Dr. B. S. Kulkarni, Dharwar, informs me that the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Pāmcatantra* from Arrah does not contain all those verses referring to the earlier poets.

Scholars are divided in their opinions whether there was only one Nāgavarma or there were two at different times (A.D. c. 1090 and c. 1145), with some or the other works assigned to them. We get the following verse in his *Chāndombudhi*,<sup>18</sup> a work in Kannada on metrics :

जित्वाणं हरियंतधःकृतमयूरं तारकारातियं-  
ततिमाघं शिशिरांत्यदंते सुरप्रोच्चंडकोदंडदं- ।

16. Ed., *Mānikachandra D. J. Granthamālā*, No. 4, Bombay, 1926.

17. Mysore, 1898.

18. R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka Kavīcarītā*, (Bangalore, 1961), pp. 53ff., 154 ff.

ते तिरोभूतगुणाद्यनवजवनदंताविर्भवदंडि भा-  
रतदंतात्थधनञ्जयैकविभवं वागुफदोद्धे नाकिंगं ॥

Dhanamjaya is mentioned here among earlier poets. Narsimha-charya thinks that this is a reference to the author of *DS*, but A. Venkatasubbiah opines that the author of the *Dasarupaka* is intended.

Jalhaṇa (c. 1257 A.D.) in his *Sūktimuktāvali*<sup>19</sup> puts in the mouth of Rājaśekhara, (c. 900 A.D.), the following verse about Dhanamjaya :

द्विःसंधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनञ्जयः ।  
यथा जातं फलं तस्य सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥ ७ ॥

This splitting of the name of the author into *dhanam* and *jaya* is quite in tune with what the author himself has done in his works.

As already pointed out by Dr. H. L. Jain,<sup>20</sup> Virasena quotes a verse useful for explaining the term *iti*, and it is the same as No. 39 of the *Nāmāmālā* of Dhanamjaya.

The above references enable us to fix the limits for the age of Dhanamjaya. He must have flourished between Akalaṇka (7th-8th century A.D.) and Virasena who completed his *Dhavalā* in A.D. 816. Dhanamjaya may, therefore, be assigned to c. 800. In any case, he could not be later than Bhoja (11th century A.D.) who specifically mentions him and his *DS*.

The *DS* of Dhanamjaya has 18 cantos, comprising of 1105 verses composed in various metrical forms, his favourite forms being *Upajati*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Śālinī*, *Svāgatā* etc. The benedictory verse in the beginning remembers (Muni-)Suvrata or Nemi, and then Sarasvatī. The story of both Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas is covered in this work, usually taking recourse to *sleṣa* (double entendre). It is a characteristic so usual with Digambara Jaina authors that the tale is said to be narrated by Gautama to King Śrenika. The author lays more stress on dignified descriptions

19. Ed., GOS No. 82, Baroda, 1938, p. 46.

20. *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama* with *Dhavalā*, vol. I, (Amraoti, 1939), Introduction, p. 62; *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 14.

than on the narration of events. Most of the verses are embellished with figures of speech, and they are duly noted by the commentator. In the last canto (especially, verse No. 43 onwards) the author has illustrated many of the *Śabdālampkāras*, a trait common with Bhāravi, Māgha and other poets. The verse No. 143 is an illustration of *sarva-gata-pratyāgata*.

Presuming that the colophons found at the end of the cantos (but not at the end of cantos 1, 2, 16 and 18) belong to the author himself, it is clear that he gives himself the name Dhanamjaya, or Kavi, or *Dvisamdhāna-kavi* and calls his poem *Dvisamdhāna-kāvya*, or the *Rāghava-Pāñḍavīya* (a second name, *apara-nāma*) *Mahākāvya*. At the close of every canto, in the last verse, he mentions his name Dhanamjaya by *śleṣa*, as in the *Viṣapahāra-stotra*; this is already imitated by Rājaśekhara in the verse put in his mouth by Jalhaṇa.

The title *Dvisamdhāna* indicates the pattern of composition in which each verse is susceptible to two interpretations, and the appellation *Rāghava-Pāñḍavīya* connotes the contents of the poem viz., that it deals with the tales of Rāma and the Pāñḍavas simultaneously. The cycle of tales connected with these two are so much an inseparable part of Indian cultural heritage that any poet who wants to pick up two topics at one and the same time, would easily turn to them, especially because independent epics dealing with them and giving plenty of details and contexts for alternative selection and presentation are available in large numbers. The title *Rāghava-Pāñḍavīya* is sufficiently popular. Besides Dhanamjaya, it has been chosen by poets like Kavirāja, Śrutakirti etc.; and there are also similar titles, e.g., *Rāghava-Yādavīya*, *Rāghava-Pāñḍava-Yādavīya*, etc. With Dhanamjaya, however, the primary title for his *kāvya* is *Dvisamdhāna*; and he, after Daṇḍin, seems to be the pioneer of this type; the *Rāghava-Pāñḍavīya* is only a secondary title.

It is interesting to compare the poems of Dhanamjaya and Kavirāja.<sup>21</sup> Dhanamjaya's *kāvya* has an alternative name *RP* which is the sole title of Kavirāja's poem. Dhanamjaya has eighteen cantos with 1105 verses, while Kavirāja has thirteen with 664

21. Edn., N. S Press, Bombay, 1897, with the commentary of *Sasadhara*, *Kāvya-mālā*, No. 62.

verses. Dhanamjaya mentions his own name by *śleṣa* (thus marking his *kāvya* 'Dhanamjayañka'), while Kavirāja mentions the name of his patron Kāmadeva in the last verse of each canto: in fact the latter's poem is 'Kāmadēvāñka'. A detailed comparison of the contents of these two poems is a desideratum. On a cursory reading one feels that there is not much striking similarity between them. Dhanamjaya has more of descriptions, while Kavirāja narrates the details of his tale successfully inspite of the handicap of *śleṣa* (see 1.54, 69, etc.). So far as *śleṣa* is concerned, Kavirāja shows more skill and mastery over vocabulary. Dhanamjaya's poem is complimented as a 'monument of poetic excellence': undoubtedly, he shows a good deal of learning, especially of the *nītiśāstra*; and some of his *arthāntaranyāsas* are really profound and striking. As contrasted with Kavirāja's style, which is lucid and delightful, (cf. 2.11-13), Dhanamjaya writes rather heavy Sanskrit which often needs some effort to understand. In his descriptions, there are very few verses of *double entendre* which are the normal feature of Kavirāja's composition. As far as we have seen, there is very little between these two poems as to suggest that one is an imitation of the other.

There is one more poet, Śrutakīrti Traividya, who wrote a *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya-kāvya* of the *gatapratyāgata* pattern, a matter of curiosity and wonder among the learned, as mentioned by Nāgacandra or Abhinava Pampa in his *Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇa*,<sup>22</sup> in Kannada, also known as *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa* (1.24-25) :

आवैं वादिकथात्रयप्रवणदैङ् विद्वज्जनं मैच्चैं वि-  
द्यावष्टममनप्तु परवादिक्षोणिभृत्पक्षमं ।  
  
देवेन्द्रं कडितंदर्दिदैं कडिदं स्थाद्वादविद्यास्त्रीदि-  
त्रैविद्यश्रुतकीर्ति दिव्यमुनिवोल् विख्यातियं ताल्दिवं ॥ २४ ॥  
श्रुतकीर्तित्रैविद्य-  
  
व्रति राघवपांडवीयमं विबुधचम-  
त्कृतियेनिसि गतप्रत्या-  
गतदि पेल्दमलकीर्तियं प्रकटिसिदं ॥ २५ ॥

These two verses are quoted in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoi

22. A Ms. is being used, but the text is available in printed form.

No. 40 (64), of A.D. 1163.<sup>23</sup> This Śrutakirti Traividya is mentioned in the Terdāl inscription of 1123 A.D. :

ततु परवादीभवंचाननर सधम्मर्ह । श्रुतकीर्तित्रैविद्यग्रतिपर् षटुतवक्तककक्तश्च  
परवादिप्रतिभास्रदीपपवनर् जितदोषर् नेगल्द्विरखिलभुवनांतरदोषु ॥

King Goṅka sent for Māghanandi Saiddhāntika (the preceptor of Nimba Sāmanta) of Kollagiri or Kolhapur, and the latter's colleagues were Kanakanandi Paṇḍitadeva and Śrutakirti Traividya. In another inscription of A.D. 1135, from Kolhapur, Śrutakirti Traividya is referred to as the Ācārya of the Rūpanārāyaṇa Basadi of Kolhapur :<sup>24</sup>

शकवर्षद सासिरद्यवत्तेष्टनेय राक्षससंवत्तरद कार्तिकबहुलपञ्चमि सोमवारदंडु  
श्रीमूलसंघदेसीयगणपुस्तक गच्छद कोल्लापुरद श्रीरूपनारायणवसदियाचार्यरथ्य श्रीश्रुत-  
कीर्तित्रैविद्यदेवर कालं कर्त्ति etc.

Nāgacandra calls him a *vṛati* and so also the Terdāl inscription; i.e., he was a *vratin* in 1123, but by 1135 A.D. he had reached the status of an Ācārya. Expert opinion puts Nāgacandra near about A.D. 1100.<sup>25</sup> This means that Śrutakirti's age ranges from c. 1100 to 1150 A.D., approximately. So far, no manuscript of his *RP* has come to light.

K. B. Pathak was the first to postulate the identity of Dhanamjaya and Śrutakirti from the latter's having composed the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*. Rightly enough, R. G. Bhandarkar hesitated to accept this identity. But somehow the date proposed for Dhanamjaya based on this identity attained currency.

Dhanamjaya and his *DS* or *RP* have to be distinguished from Śrutakirti and his *RP*. First, Dhanamjaya was a householder, while Śrutakirti, a *vratin* and later an Ācārya. Secondly, neither Dhanamjaya nor the sources which mention Śrutakirti give any evidence to suppose that the two names stand for the same

23. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. II, Śravaṇa Belgoḷ Inscriptions.

24. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 19, p. 30.

25. R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka Kavitarite*, vol. I, (Bangalore 1961), pp. 110 f.

poet. Thirdly, a verse from Dhanamjaya's *Nāmamālā* is quoted by Viśasena (A.D. 816); and his *DS*, specifically mentioning the name Dhanamjaya, is referred to by Bhoja (c. 1010-62 A.D.), while the period of Śrutakīrti ranges from 1100 to 1150 A.D. Lastly, if the *DS* of Dhanamjaya is already famous to be ranked with the work of Daṇḍin and to be referred to by Bhoja (middle of the 11th century), it cannot be the same work as that of Śrutakīrti who was an Ācārya in 1135 A.D. So this identification has no basis; and therefore, *the date, based on this identity proposed for Dhanamjaya, namely 1123-40 A.D., has to be given up.*

E.V. Vira Raghavacharya's suggestion of the date for Dhanamjaya (c. 750-800) is nearer the point, but it is not known why he puts Kavirāja earlier than Dhanamjaya when Kavirāja specifically refers to Muñja of Dhārā (973-95 A.D.).

Prof. Venkatasubbiah's thesis, *viz.*, that Dhanamjaya, the author of *DS*, is identical with Hemasena because the latter is mentioned as Vidyā-Dhanamjaya in the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷ Inscription, cannot be accepted. Vādirāja is mentioning in his poem earlier authors and teachers and not necessarily his pontifical predecessors. That Dhanamjaya, therefore, was a pontifical predecessor of Vādirāja and identical with Hemasena is not justified. First, Dhanamjaya was a householder. He has not at all mentioned his ascetic line, nor does he speak about his ascetic predecessors; he cannot, therefore, be a pontifical predecessor of Vādirāja. Secondly, nowhere in his works, has Dhanamjaya given his name as Hemasena. Lastly, it is very doubtful whether Vidyā-Dhanamjaya is a proper name, for it could be read as well *vidyā dhanamjaya padam viśadam dadhāno*. It is also possible that Dhanamjaya here means Arjuna; so Hemasena is Vidyā-Dhanamjaya. If at all Vidyā-Dhanamjaya is a proper name, then it means that it only distinguishes Hemasena from some other Dhanamjaya who flourished earlier.

CAKRA, THE SYMBOL OF ETERNITY  
THROUGH THE AGES

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*Cakra*, as an expression of infinity and Ultimate Truth, is intimately connected with the spiritual and cultural life of India from time immemorial. This is the symbol that has found an important place in the mythologies of many nations. In our ancient religious literature, particularly Tantric, Buddhist and, to some extent, Yogic, the 'wheel' constitutes a mystic symbol of esoteric and secret doctrines. As the sun, time, and life ever continue to move on without stop, they were allegorically termed 'wheels' by the ancient peoples. The same wheel later became an eloquent symbol of invincible power, temporal and spiritual, and many deities and legendary monarchs such as Pr̥thu, Māndhātā etc., possessed the wheel as one of their indispensable and celebrated decorations or weapons. For Lord Buddha, the wheel was a symbol of the eternal doctrine which he preached and propagated through his sermons and discourses. Many legends and myths later grew round the wheel, a fact which becomes abundantly clear as we glance through the Buddhist religious literature. It has developed into a very complicated symbol in Tantric Buddhism with its innumerable complex and colourful conventional signs. Then again, we have the six mystic *cakras* such as *mulādhāra*, *svādhishṭhāna* etc., represented within one's own body. Thus, the *cakra* later turned out to be a mystic and metaphysical and, at the same time, cryptic expression taxing the mind even of the adepts as to its exact significance. Today, while the mechanised modern world has adopted the wheel as an expressive sign of mechanical and industrial progress or power, India, the homeland of great sages and saints, still looks on it as an expression of *ahimsā*, compassion and spiritual power and, as such, the symbol has rightly found a proud place in our national emblem. But the wheel adopted by the modern mechanised industry as a symbol of progress and material prosperity is the wheel with dentures of a war-tank or armoured car which would destroy everything that comes into contact with it, while the wheel of *Dharma* carried

a different message, a message of liberation and elevation and not of suppression and destruction. Nevertheless, the wheel, thus, ever rolled on through the ages as a symbol, most simple, most complicated and most powerful, and is decorating, today, even the modern material world. It is worth while to delve into the complexity of this cosmic wheel and its application to a wider range of ideas and conceptions.

In the present paper, it is intended to make a survey of the subject beginning from the Brahmanic literature, the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Mahābhārata*, to the literature in Pali and Sanskrit and, in conclusion, of world mythologies. The esoteric concepts, philosophical speculations and religious thoughts are represented in complex symbols in our literature. *Cakra* is just one such symbol but highly popular and frequently referred to because of its form having wider application and comprehension. There is a vast literature available in Pali and Sanskrit in which *Cakra* has been allegorically referred to.

#### VEDIC PERIOD

##### The *Śamhitās*

The *Rgveda* treats the wheel primarily as a symbol of the sun and of time and, in a few references, as a sign of sovereign authority. The origin of the later symbolic representations and allegorical expressions of the wheel can be traced back to R̄gvedic concepts. The word *cakra* means turning or revolving and is derived from the root *√car* (or *√kar* or *√kvar* according to Grassmann). It has a parallel in Greek *kuklos*, in Old Slavic *kolo* and in Anglo-Saxon *hvel*, all these being cognates having the same meaning. Yāska derives the term from the roots *√cak*, *√car* or *√kram*, all meaning 'to move': cf., *eka-cakram*, *eka-cāriṇam*, *cakram cakater vā carater vā kramater vā* (*Nirukta* 4. 27). Sāyaṇa, evidently on the authority of Yāska, comments on *cakra* as *cakaṇāc carāṇāt kramaṇād vā cakrāṇi raśmayāḥ* (on *RV* 1. 164. 2), *punāḥ punāḥ kramaṇā-śilam maṇḍalākhyam ratha-cakram* (on *RV* 1. 164. 11) and *caṅkramaṇāni karmāṇī* (on *RV* 4. 31. 6). Thus, according to the scholiasts, *cakra* mean 'that which ever moves forward or rolls on unchecked or a thing that pervades'. The word, in fact, implies intensive or repeated action, and it is applied to the wheel as its nature is to revolve and move forward. On the authority of this etymology, *Cakra* is allegorically applied to time which

never stops and to the sun which, while comparing favourably with the wheel with its disc also agrees with it in its never-ceasing movement. While comparing time or the year in a wheel, the various divisions of time or year such as the seasons, months, fortnights, days etc. are taken, at the same time, as representing the different parts or constituents of a wheel. This allegory of time with a wheel is found described in several scattered verses of the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. In the famous *asya vāmasya* hymn of the *Rgveda* (1. 164) the metaphor is carried to such an extent that the exact meaning of many verses in this hymn is shrouded in obscurity or mystery and, as a consequence, the meaning of the whole *sukta* becomes, rather, obscure, and complicated. In this hymn, the sun as also time has been allegorically referred to as a wheel. The chariot of the sun has been taken as a symbol of the year or time and the sun's only wheel is said to have three naves which, according to Sāyaṇa, represent the divisions of the year into past, present and future. The wheel, in either case, is said to be free from decay (*ajaram*) and unsurpassed (*anarvam*) ; it is also said that the whole universe turns and subsists on the wheel ; cf., *yatremā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh* (*RV* 1. 164. 2). This chariot of the sun is again described as *saptacakra*, i.e., having a *cakra* that ever revolves. This allegory has been carried almost to perfection in a number of verses. *E. g. :*

*dvādaśāram na hi tajjarāya  
varvarti cakraṁ pari dyām rtasya /  
a putrā agne mithunāso atra  
sapta śatāni viṁśatiśca tasthuh // (RV 1. 164. 11)*

“Formed with twelve spokes, by length of time unweakened, rolls round the heaven this wheel of during Order. Herein established, joined in pairs together, seven hundred sons and twenty stand, O Agni”.

The word *rta* in the *Rgveda* carried, even as *Dharma* in later literature, very wide and comprehensive significance. It may be said to be the Vedic equivalent of *Dharma* but, at the same time, having wider application. *Rta* is the invisible universal order which governs and ordains everything that is in the universe. The wheel which is expressly mentioned as that of *rta* has, therefore, a deeper meaning. But the

allegory here clearly refers to the year with twelve months comprising a total 720 days and nights. The Vedic *r̄si* assures us that though this wheel of *r̄ta*, ever goes round the heaven, it is never worn out, never grows old: *na hi tajjarāya*. This *cakra* has later been referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as the *cakra* of the Supreme Kālapuruṣa, and described in Buddhist literature as the Eternal Dharma-Cakra of Bhagavān Buddha. The wheel of the sun is often described in the Vedas as golden, (*sūras cakram hiranyayam*, *RV* 6. 56. 3) which Indra steals and throws against the demons of darkness at the decline of day or night (*RV* 1. 130. 9). He is also said to have turned (*avarayat*) this wheel, as indeed Buddha did later to dispel darkness of ignorance (*RV* 2. 2. 20 ; 8. 99. 9).

Besides the sun, Soma, Pūṣan, Maruts and Aśvins are said to possess wheels in the *R̄gveda*. Among these, the invisible wheels of the three-wheeled chariot of the Aśvins deserve our special attention. This chariot and its three wheels are, in fact, riddles which cannot easily be explained. The Vedic *r̄si* asks the Aśvins themselves about the riddle and the answer given is that while the two of the wheels could be perceived by the learned, the third, the most mysterious of all, which remains concealed in the head of *aghnya*, the indestructible bull, could be known only by those who have realised the highest truth. Further, it is said that these wheels of Aśvins turn or traverse independent of each other and also simultaneously in different spheres or regions. It is this mysterious three-wheeled chariot that was chartered for the bridal procession of *Sūryā* in the *R̄gveda*. These allegories and riddles wrapped in criptic diction are difficult to understand in all their implications.

We have, so far, discussed the *R̄gvedic* references in which the wheel has been mentioned as part of a chariot or as representing the sun or time. We come across certain other references in the *R̄gveda* where the wheel signified something different. For example, in *RV* 10. 93. 9, there is mention of a wheel of masters or sovereign lords, *maghonam*, which Indra jointly excercised over the people: Geldner takes this wheel as the symbol of sovereign authority which we find later, in Hindu and Buddhist literatures. Again, the three mystic wheels of the Aśvins, mentioned earlier, are, obviously, different from those of the sun or time and have no relation with the concept of time. Perhaps, the two wheels which can be perceived or acquired by the Brāhmaṇas refer to the learning that one acquires by the study of the scriptures while the third that is hidden in *guhā* represents the

ātma or *brahmajñāna* which cannot be acquired by the mere study of scriptures, but is to be realised within oneself under the guidance of a *guru*. The *Upaniṣads* dealing with this sacred and secret knowledge clearly say that this supreme wisdom is *nihilam guhāyām* and that it is not attainable by any but the strong—*nāyam ātma balahinena labhyah*, nor can it be acquired by mere scholastic discourse or jugglery of words or intelligence or even by learning the entire scripture—*nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhaya vā bahuna śrutena*. These mystic wheels of the Aśvins, again, may have yet wider and deeper significance. The nervous centres in our body which are the potential sources of vitality for development of energy and spiritual power are termed as wheels by the mystics and these wheels or centres are concealed in the different parts of our body. For them, the body is only a vehicle driven by the ātman mounted on these wheels and constitutes only a medium or a means to achieve or attain their ultimate goal. The allegory of the Aśvins' chariot and the invisible wheels thereof should be taken in the light of this theory. Again, the bull represents the eternal Dharma on whose head the mystic *cakra* of the Aśvins is concealed. A yogin or a mystic realises the highest truth only when he controls and masters the supreme power dormant in the *sahasrāra-cakra* in the head, which is also called as the *Brahmarandhra*, the straight path to *Brahman*.

Coming to the *Atharvaveda*, we see that Time has been raised to the status of a divinity. Here *Kāla* is called a primeval deity—*prathamo nu devah* (*AV* 19. 53. 2) and his cosmic wheels are said to pervade the whole universe, *i. e.*, or the entire universe constitutes his wheels—*tasya cakrā bhuvanāni viśvā* (*AV* 19. 53. 1). The *Kalapuruṣa* is described here as looking on with thousand eyes, as not affected by old age and decay and as most prolific. While the entire universe fixed in wheels of *Kāla* helplessly revolves, the *Atharvaveda* says that the deeply learned sages mount on this 'Wheel of Time'—*tam ārohanti kavayo vipaścitaḥ* (*AV* 19. 53. 1) and achieve the highest goal of their life, *i. e.*, the timeless domain, by escaping from the Time's dominion characterised by the cycle of births and deaths. The *Atharvaveda* further conceives of a cosmic wheel covering the entire universe with half of which, it says, the world was created but wonders what happened to the other half. Bhagavān Buddha later refers to two wheels, one being the wheel of life with the unending chain of life and death, *i. e.*, the *Saṁsāra-cakra* and the other being the *Dharma-*

*cakra* which he turned to enlighten his followers. It is exactly this wheel of *Samsāra*, the boundless ocean of life that has been referred to by the *Atharvaveda*. A yogin, a mystic, is not lost in this ocean, nor is he carried away by the wheel of *Samsāra* in its merciless rotation through the unending chain of life and death. This wheel is only a means to him which he mounts and crosses over to the invisible cosmic wheel from where he never returns. The first is known as *Bhava-cakra* and the second as *Dharma-cakra* in Buddhist philosophy. We also come across a celestial golden *kośa* with eight wheels and nine portals and covered by light. This *kośa* is said to be situated in the impregnable fort of the gods (*AV* 10.2.31-32). This golden *kośa*, further, says the *Atharvaveda*, has three spokes and three axles, and in it dwells the 'Animated Being' (*ātmanavat* *Yakṣa*), who is realised only by the Brahmavids. Obviously, this is a reference to the nervous centres called as *kośas* and *cakras* in Yogic and Tantric terminology. While the *Rgveda* forms the source for the sacrificial rituals which are, often, wrapped in allegorical statements, and for the philosophical theories which are later propounded in the *Upaniṣads*, the *Atharvaveda* forms the primary source for ancient Indian mystic knowledge and esoteric doctrines.

### The *Upaniṣads*

In the pre-Buddhist *Upaniṣads* we meet with the simile of a potter's wheel applied to the body (cf., *Maitrāyaṇī Up.* 2.6 3.3) and of a car's wheel (or of the hub of a wheel) applied to the Supreme Soul (cf., *Chānd. Up.* 7. 15. 1; *Praśna Up.* 2. 6. 6. 6; *Bṛhad. Up.* 2. 5. 15). We also come across instances where the metaphor of a wheel is applied to the *prapañca* or *samsāra* (*Śvet. Up.* 1.4.61) or to the *ātman*. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* describes in detail what it calls a revolving *Brahma-cakra*, a most complicated wheel, with a frightfully large number of parts representing almost all basic concepts on which the edifice of *Upaniṣadic* philosophy has been built. This *Brahma-cakra* or *Samsāra-cakra* which is being caused to revolve by the greatness of God (cf., *yenedam bhrāmyate brahma-cakram*) is characterized as having three tiers (*trivṛtta*) representing the three qualities, viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, sixteen end-parts (*śoḍaśānta*), made up of the five elements (*bhūtas*), the five organs of perception (*buddhīndriyas*), the five organs of action (*karmendriyas*) and the mind (*manas*), fifty spokes (*satārdhāram*) comprising of the five *viparyayas*, twentyeight *āsaktis*,

nine *tuṣṭis* and eight *siddhis*, twenty *counterspokes* (*viṁśati-pratyāra*), being the ten senses (*indriyas*) and their ten objects, six sets of eights being : (1) 8 producing causes of *prakṛti*, viz., *pañca-bhūtas*, *manas*, *buddhi* and *ahaṅkāra*, (2) 8 *dhātus*; (3) 8 *aiśvaryas*; (4) 8 *bhāvas* (5) eight gods and (6) 8 *guṇas*, manifold ropes (*viśvarupaika-pāśam*) or desires, three different paths (*tri-mārga-bheda*), being *dharma*, *adharma* and *ajñāna* and one illusion (*moha*) with two conditioning causes (*puṇya* and *pāpa*). The *Upaniṣad* further says that the *haṁsa* (*Jīvātman*) flutters about in this *Brahma-cakra* which vitalises all things and also appears in all things. This merry-go-round *Jīvātman*, we are told, attains immortality by escaping from this ever revolving *Brahma-cakra* and attains *Mokṣa* when he realizes that *Jīvātman* and *Īśvara* are one and not different and when the Supreme Soul favours him with his blessings. Among the later *Upaniṣads*, the *Nṛsiṁha-Pūrva-tāpanīyopaniṣad* (5.1) mentions a *Mahācakra* with six, eight, twelve, sixteen and thirty spokes, each set of spokes representing different things. The *Tripurā-tāpanīyopaniṣad* (2.2.3) describes the famous *Śrī-cakra* in detail and gives the necessary instructions to draw the diagram. Then the *Yoga Upaniṣads* generally speak of the six mystic *cakras* (*Padmas*, *Kośas* or *Kuṇḍalīs*, as they are variously called) such as *Mūlādhāra*, *Svādhiṣṭhāna*, *Maṇipūra*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddha*, and *Ājñā*, besides the *Sahasrāra*, which is thousand-spoked.

Again, we should remember the famous simile of the chariot with horses yoked, a *sārathi* with reins in hands, and a person sitting within, described in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, though the wheels, so important as parts of a chariot, have not found mention in this allegory. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, speaking about the *ātman*, says expressly that the *ātman* is the overlord and king of all things : (cf., *sa vā ayam ātmā sarveśāṁ bhutānāṁ adhipatiḥ sarveśāṁ bhutānāṁ rājā*) and that all gods, all worlds, all breathing things, all these selves, in short, everything in this universe, is held together in this *ātman*, in the same way as all the spokes are held together in the hub and felly of a wheel (2.5.15). The reference here is, obviously, to *Paramātman*, the Supreme Soul ; such similes are not uncommon in the *Upaniṣads*.

We, thus, see that the allegorical description of the *samsāra* or of the Supreme Soul as a wheel is found as early as in the *Upaniṣadic* period and that the same concept, in a subtle form, could be traced back to the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. This

concept has been taken over by later literature, Hindu as well as Buddhist, and duly adapted to suit their purposes, *viz.*, the illustration of their theories and the explanation of their doctrines.

#### THE POST-VEDIC PERIOD

Coming to the post-Vedic period, we find *cakra* mentioned among the seven 'divine treasures' of a *Cakravartin* in the *Bṛhad-Devatā* (400 B. C.). These treasures are mere symbols and the *Cakravartins* mentioned may not necessarily refer to human personages. In the *Mahābhārata*, *Cakra-dharas*, 'holders of wheels', or *Cakravartins*, as Nilakanṭha interprets the word, are actually included among the invisible superhuman beings (*MBh.* 14. 16. 23). Waddell rightly presumes that the *Cakravartin* referred to above is a form of the Supreme Creator who resolved Himself into various active creators such as *Prajāpati*, *Puruṣa* etc. He further traces the concept of 'seven divine treasures' back to the pre-Vedic period and presumes the Assyrian origin of these divine treasures. "These seven treasures," says Waddell, "were the famous divine treasures of life and immortality won by the gods of light in their great struggle against the powers of darkness and the deep, in the context termed by the Indians 'the churning of the oceans'. .... This conflict, forming a chief episode in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* epics, whilst incorporating a rude version of the cosmic struggle of Nature's forces in evolving the Universe from chaos, marks also, in the view of the present writer, the final breaking away of the Indo-Aryans from the Assyrian gods which their Aryan ancestors had borrowed from their western neighbours when in Iran". Although the *Mahābhārata* (400 B. C. to 500 A.D.) does not expressly mention the wheel in its seven treasures, 'the mild moon of a thousand rays' of its list is believed to be the same as the *Cakra* of the *Bṛhad-Devatā* mentioned above. Waddel believes these *ratnas* to be the symbols of dawn, the sun etc., and identifies them with those mentioned in the *Bṛhad-Devatā*. Again, in the *Āśvamedha-parvan* we find the mention of a *cakra* with all its Vedic and post-Vedic implications. There is in the *Anugītā*, a happy incident, quite interesting and illuminating, referred to have occurred in the court of king Janaka, the great royal philosopher of Videha. A brāhmaṇa was tried for some grave offence by the king and was convicted to be exiled from his kingdom. But after the judgement was pronounced, the king was drawn into a long and revealing conversation by the

brāhmaṇ who was actually *Dharma* in disguise and the king who, without knowing the identity of the person convicted him by banishment from his kingdom, set the brāhmaṇ at liberty at once and allowed him to live in his kingdom happily as long as he desired. (*Cf.*, *uṣyatām yāvad utsāho bhujyatām yāvad uṣyate*). The brāhmaṇ giving high compliment to the king for his supreme knowledge and spiritual achievement, replied :

*tvaj-jijñāsārtham adyeha viddhi mām dharmam agatam /  
tvam asya brahma-nābhasya buddhyārasyā nivartinaḥ //  
sattva-nemi-niruddhasya cakrasyaikah pravartakah //*

(MBh. 14. 32. 25. 26)

“Know me to be *Dharma*, come here today to learn (something) about you. You are the one person to turn *this wheel*, the nave of which is *Brahman*, the spoke is understanding and which does not turn back and which is checked by the quality of goodness as its circumference”. It may be observed here that the expression of *cakra-pravartana*, ‘the turning of the wheel’, is used in the same sense as used in the Buddhist literature. Janaka, the king and philosopher, can, in Buddhist terminology, be called aptly a *Chakravartin*, ‘the turner of the wheel’. The royal philosopher turned this wheel for *brahma-lābha* to attain *Brahman* by freeing himself from the cycle of births and deaths. This was the same *cakra* that was turned by Lord Buddha and is, later, met with in the Buddhist canons. It is expressly said that this *cakra* will never go back and can never be turned back even by the Almighty God Himself.<sup>1</sup> This is what is known as *Dharma-cakra*. The *Mahābhārata*, again in the same *Parvan*, describes a wheel which is quite different from the *Dharma-cakra* that was turned by Janaka. The wheel here is designated as *Kāla-cakra* which is, in fact, another term for the *Bhava-cakra* of the Buddhist canons. The *Anugītā*, contains a most comprehensive and animated description of this *Kālacakra*, covering almost everything that relates to life and everything that makes up this mortal frame. The *Kālacakra* of the *Mahābhārata*, unlike its Vedic counterpart, actually designates the wheel of life, that is, the body which *jīva* enters and rotates through the repeated births and deaths. This mortal frame which is the abode of old age and suffering (*jarā-śoka-samāviṣṭam*) and is the source of disease and afflictions

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 11), p. 153.

(*vyādhi-vyasana-sambhavam*) ; its beginning and end are bound by and subject to time (*ahorātra-parikṣepam*) ; and it rotates in space and time (*deśa-kāla-vicāri*). The *Mahābhārata* identifies the wheel of life with the bigger wheel of time, that is, *Saṁsāra-cakra*, the wheel of worldly life. Though the above statement is made only in a general way, it applies to the individual wheel of life as well. This fascinating *Kāla-cakra* turns incessantly with the speed of mind and is actually devoid of *cetāna* (cf., *manojavam*, *manah-kāntam* and *acetanam*). The *Mahābhārata* instructs that all the worlds, including that of the immortals (who are also bound by and subject to time and space and who also rotate through the repeated existences) should understand properly, pause and cast away this wheel of time (*visṛjet saṁkṣipe cāpi bodhayet sāmāraṁ jagat*). The *Mahābhārata* further assures that one who rightly understands the *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* of the *Kāla-cakra* is never deluded or misled, but, on the other hand, is released from all *saṁskāras* and sins ; and the pairs of opposites are removed from him and attains the highest goal.

kālacakra-pravṛttiṁ ca nivṛttiṁ caiva tattvataḥ |  
yas tu veda naro nityam na sa bhūtesu muhyati ||  
vimuktah sarvasamskāraih sarva-dvandvavivarjitaḥ |  
vimuktah sarva-pāpebhyah prāpnoti paramāṁ gatim ||

The *Mahābhārata* advises one to be aware of this *Kāla-cakra* and try to understand it properly and then throw it away, that is, escape from its rotation, the unending chain of repeated existences. It also mentions another wheel from which it does not ask one to run away but turn it and then through it reach the ultimate goal from where one never returns. This wheel, the *Mahābhārata* says, never comes back, but always goes forward and takes one to *Brahman*. From the first, one must try to escape, to the second one must stick and thus attain through it the ultimate goal. This is the difference between the two wheels mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

#### BUDDHIST LITERATURE

After briefly surveying the Brahmanic literature we come, now, to the Buddhist, which gave world-wide currency to the concept of the wheel of *Dharma*.

Here, the first reference to this *Dharma-cakra* with its full metaphorical representation is found in Buddha's sermons in Varanasi.

"The spokes of the wheel are the rules of the pure conduct; justice is the uniformity of their length; wisdom is the time; modesty and thoughtfulness are the hub in which the immovable axle of truth is fixed." Thus preached Bhagavān Buddha in his memorable sermon at Varanasi. Buddhism, particularly Tāntric Buddhism, is full of obscure and complicated symbolism. *Cakra* represented originally the Eternal Doctrine preached by Gautama Buddha, but later, by its very phenomenal nature, it symbolized also *bhava* or *samsāra* which too is known to have neither beginning nor end, but at the same time, moves on incessantly with all its miseries and temptations, and sufferings and avarice. Hindu philosophy, for that matter Buddhist as well, preached the ways and means to escape from the ever-rolling *Samsāra-cakra* and achieve *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa*. Buddhism asserts that this ever-revolving *Samsāra-cakra* can never be turned back by any *Samāṇa* or *Brāhmaṇa*, or by any *Brahmā* or *Māra* or by any god or anyone in the universe. Among the seven treasures of a *Cakravartin*, (i.e., a Universal Monarch or Turner of the wheel), *cakra* occupies a most important place. The *cakra*, which is the symbol of *Dharma* Supreme, will make its' appearance and remain in a prominent and commanding place in the palace of the Universal Monarch so long as he adhered strictly to *Dharma*. When this celestial wheel sinks down from its proper place, the possessor thereof renounces the world, handing over the reign of his kingdom to his successor. The wheel then disappears completely from its permanent place in the palace in seven days. For, this wheel, according to the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda Suttanta*, is no 'paternal heritage' to go down from father to son. Each successor should 'walk in the haunts' where his forefathers roamed and should possess the wheel. That is, each successive ruler should acquire this wheel by acting upto the noble ideal of duty set before himself by the true sovereigns of the world. In short, the wheel is acquired as a consequence of good *Karma* and any deviation from the trodden path of *Dharma* would cause the wheel to disappear immediately, bringing in its trail the resultant miseries to his subjects and disaster to his kingdom. The *Sīhanāda Suttanta* says : "Then it may well be that if thou carry out the Ariyan duty of a Wheel-turning Monarch, and on the feast of the full moon thou wilt go with bathed head to keep the feast on the chief upper terrace, lo ! the celestial wheel will manifest

itself with its thousand spokes, its tyre, navel, and all its parts complete.”<sup>2</sup> The *Sutta* then enunciates what are called the Ariyan duties of a sovereign lord, which, when faithfully adhered to, the celestial wheel reveals itself to the ruler. “Thereupon the king rising from his seat, and uncovering his robe from one shoulder with his right hand, sprinkles up water over the celestial wheel, saying: Roll onward, O Lord Wheel... Go forth and overcome, O Lord Wheel.”<sup>3</sup> The Wheel followed by the king, along with his fourfold army, then rolls on to all four quarters from the east to the north, conquering each region. The Victory of the Wheel (*Dharma*), in fact, that of the Cakravartin, is really a bloodless conquest of the different regions. Wherever the wheel stopped, the rival kings of that region paid homage to the Cakravartin saying, ‘Welcome, O mighty king. All is thine, O mighty king. Teach us O mighty king’. The instruction of the Cakravartin to the kings, who look at him was: “Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink no maddening drink. Enjoy your possessions as you want to do.”<sup>4</sup> This is the *pañcasīla*, the famous code of conduct strictly followed in Buddhism. The wheel, after conquering the earth from sea to sea, returned to the royal city and stood in front of the judgement hall of the Cakravartin. The victory of the celestial wheel is, in truth, the victory of the Gospel of Lord Buddha. This victory is free from the horrors and crimes of war and, essentially, the mission of the wheel is to propagate the message of non-violence, love and compassion. The dissemination of Indian culture and philosophy from time immemorial, within or without Bhārata-varṣa, was effected not with brutal force, nor by means of deceitful methods, but by the inner urge of the people themselves, by their deep conviction, who with joy and trust absorbed and assimilated, spontaneously, whatever they realised as true and worthy and made it part and parcel of their spiritual existence.

Again, the *Lakkhana Suttanta* mentions the wheel among the 32 *lakhaṇas* (‘marks’) of a *mahāpuruṣa*, who, according to the *Suttanta*,

2. *Cakkavatti-Sihaṇāda Suttanta*, D 3. 60 (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. IV, pp. 61-62).

3. *Ibid.*, D 3. 62 (p. 63).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

"if he lives of the life of the House, becomes the Monarch Turner of the wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, Conqueror, Guardian of the people's good, owner of the seven Treasures.....But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless State, he becomes Arhant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world."<sup>5</sup> 'Such a superman as a Monarch or as a Buddha Supreme occupies an unrivalled position in the world, the former being the personification of the temporal power and the latter of the spiritual. This Wheel-turning Monarch conquers the world and establishes his kingdom not by scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness. Thereupon, the earth "void of barrenness, pitfalls or jungle, becomes mighty, prosperous, secure, fortunate, and his people, ministers, tributary kings, attendants, brahmins etc. become pure-hearted. As Monarch, the Turner of the Wheel, this doth he achieve in his kingdom."<sup>6</sup> But if he becomes Arhant, a Buddha Supreme, "he is not liable to obstruction from any foe or adversary within or without, out of lust or hate or illusion, whether recluse or Brahmin or deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world. As Buddha, this doth he achieve".<sup>7</sup> This *Suttanta* describes in detail the achievements of the Superman as a Wheel-turning Monarch or a Buddha Supreme and we see purity, love, loyalty, truthfulness and such good qualities everywhere, about the wheel-turner.

From these *Suttantas* it becomes clear that this Wheel "with a thousand spokes, complete in its parts with rim and nave" whether on the feet of a Buddha Supreme or among the Treasures of a Cakravartin represent something definite. It is a symbol of supernatural or superhuman power, temporal and spiritual; it is also a revealing symbol of *Dharma* and justice. Speaking about the Wheel, E. J. Thomas observes: "Whatever the wheel may have once meant, it is here the symbol of the universal rule, and all the phraseology about turning the wheel of the Doctrine is merely adaptation of this symbol to the spiritual reign of the king of the *Dharma*".<sup>8</sup>

5. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

8. *The life of Buddha*, (London, 1927), p. 220.

Now, there is the famous *Bhava-cakra* with twelve *nidānas*, such as *jarāmarana*, *jāti*, *bhava*, *upādāna*, *tiṣṇā*, *vedanā*, *sparśa*, *saḍāyatana*, *nāmarūpa*, *vijñāna*, *sāṃskāra*, and *avidyā* (in *pratiloma* order) described in the Buddhist canons.<sup>9</sup> These twelve *nidānas* are believed to be the main causes for the transmigration of the soul or the repetition of birth and death, with all the attendant sufferings in this *bhava*. The rotation of *bhava* and *mṛtyu* has been figuratively styled *bhavacakra*, of which these twelve *nidānas* are the mainstay. One who wants to escape from this wheel should destroy these *nidānas* and, ultimately, the *bhavacakra*, as well. This wheel has been pictorially drawn in various ways in order to give a comprehensive picture of *samsāra*. Once the wheel has been accepted as a symbol of *bhava*, it became necessary to describe it in detail. The wheel has, therefore, been drawn with apt symbols representing these *nidānas*, hell and heaven, day and night, etc., and on the righthand corner above the wheel was drawn the Buddha standing and directing the world to the circle of *Nirvāṇa*. These wheels have been drawn with five or six spokes and, in some cases, more, and, normally, with one or two naves. Lord Buddha himself is said to have ordered the inscription of this wheel over the gateway of the *Veluvana* monastery at *Rājagṛha*. The wheel is described this : "The five-spoked wheel.....is to be made with the five destinies (*gati*), the hells, animals, ghosts (*pretas*) gods, and human beings. Therein, the hells are to be made at the bottom, the animals and ghosts above ; then gods and human beings ; the four continents, *Pūrvavideha*, *Aparagodāniya*, *Uttarakuru* and *Jambudvīpa*. In the middle (the nave), passion, hatred and stupidity are to be represented, passion in the form of a dove, hatred in the form of a snake, and stupidity in the form of a pig. An image of Buddha is to be made pointing out the circle of *Nirvāṇa*. Apparitional beings are to be represented by means of a windlass as passing away and being reborn. All round is to be represented the twelvefold causal organisation in direct and reverse order. The whole is to be represented as swallowed by Impermanence (*anityata*), and two verses are to be written :

Make a beginning, renounce your home  
To the Buddha-teaching apply yourselves ;

9. Cf., *Visuddhimagga* of *Buddhaghosa*, (Pali Text Society, edn., London, 1921), vol. II, pp. 582-83.

Smite away the army of Death,  
 As an elephant a house of reeds.  
 Who in this law and Discipline  
 Shall vigilantly lead his life,  
 Abandoning the round of birth,  
 Shall verily make an end of pain"

(*Divyāvadāna*, 300)<sup>10</sup>

Lastly, we find four wheels, mentioned figuratively, in the *Dasuttara Suttanta*. They are : (1) the orbit of favourable place of residence ; (2) the orbit of association with the good ; (3) perfect adjustment of one's self ; and (4) the cycle of merit wrought in the past.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, we find that the wheel is described in the Buddhistic scriptures with four different aspects, representing four different concepts. The first of these concepts was the *cakra* turned by Lord Buddha, which represented the eternal doctrine preached by him. From the Buddhist canons we understand that there developed, later, new concepts about the nature of a Buddha or Bodhisattva which naturally resulted in the belief of previous Buddhas. In the *Cakkavatti-Sīhanāda* we find the prophecy of a future Buddha called Metteyya. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* mentions a fabulous number of Buddhas who attained enlightenment. It says that Buddha is born repeatedly in this world of the living ; and in his each *avatāra* he preached *Dharma*—he turned the Wheel of *Dharma*. It expressly mentions the name of a previous Buddha who had turned the Wheel of the Law, at an inconceivably long period before, viz., the *Tathāgata Mahābhijñābhīshu* has also been mentioned.<sup>12</sup> The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* stresses that the Buddha is an ideal, a personification, and not a person, who "existed from eternity, or what comes to the same, from the very beginning, from time immemorial",<sup>13</sup> and is to live for ever. He is born again and again for the *Dharma-cakra-pravartana*, to direct people to *Nirvāṇa* for *loka-saṅgraha*.

10. *The History of Buddhist Thought*, by E. J. Thomas (London, 1933), pp. 68-69.

11. *Dasuttara Suttānta*, D 3. 1. 276 (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. IV, p. 254).

12. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, chapter VII.

13. Vide, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXI), *Introduction*, p. xxv.

This clearly shows the strong influence of the Brāhmaṇic *avatāra* theory on *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. According to the Hindu belief, the Supreme God is born whenever there is *dharmaśya glāniḥ* and the rise of *Adharma*. He takes new *avatāras* whenever occasion demands for *Dharmaśāṃsthāpana*. As Buddha assumed an almost mythical figure in later Buddhist literature, and was believed to have been one of the *avatāras*, some modern scholars like Kern have attempted to explain all the legends of Buddha in the light of the sun-myth theory, though not denying that Buddha was a historical figure. For them all the Buddhistic legends are but the descriptions of the sun and other heavenly bodies; it is all the usual battle between light and darkness that is so common in ancient mythologies.<sup>14</sup>

The second Buddhist concept was the wheel of life with twelve *nidānas* moving incessantly round and round, which every wise man must be aware of. Lord Buddha preached to the people the ways and means to escape from the whirlwind of this wheel and take to *Nirvāṇa*. This wheel may be applied to individual life as well as to the whole of *samsāra*. The Causal Formula expounded in the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is conceived in the form of this wheel. Referring to this wheel, E. J. Thomas remarks: "The Causal Formula does not appear to have been at first conceived as a wheel but as a line in the series of transmigrations of unknown beginning. But it easily lent itself to such a presentation."<sup>15</sup>

Thirdly, we have the celestial wheel of the Cakravartin, symbolising justice, merit and purity, which each monarch has to acquire by his good conduct and character just as his ancestors did by not deviating from the path of *Dharma*. The wheel, when acquired, conquers the world for him without bloodshed, without hurting anyone. The Monarch just followed the wheel wherever it went, with the message of love and *ahimsā*. The wheel would continue to be in the royal city so long as the Monarch adheres to *Dharma* and leads a pure and pious life.

Fourthly, we come to the wheel-mark on the feet of a Superman. This wheel, according to the Buddhist canons, indicates, in the possessor, either the career of a Universal Monarch or the career of a Buddha in Homeless State.

14. *Vide, The life of Buddha*, by E. J. Thomas, (London, 1927), pp. 216-19.

15. *The history of Buddhist thought*, London, 1935), p. 68.

The above, in brief, is the story of *cakra* in the long range of Buddhist literature.

### CONCLUSION

It may, thus, be seen that *cakra*, as a symbol, goes back to the Vedas. Indra turned and hurled it down in order to recover the lost light and also to dispel darkness and to destroy the evil spirit from the world. We also find *cakra* used as a symbol of eternity, *i.e.*, time that never gets worn out or grows old (*ajara*). Again, the same *cakra* is termed, in the *Rigveda*, as a *cakra* of *rta*, eternal order or law. The mystic *cakra* of the *Asvins* representing the esoteric concepts and the germs of secret doctrine of the *yogins* or mystics is also traced back to the Vedas. The concept of *kośas*, with wheels representing the nervous centres of potential, spiritual and magical force, is described in the *Atharvaveda*, though not elaborately. But, when we come down to the *Upaniṣads* we find the idea clearly expressed, *cakra* representing the Supreme Soul as also the everchanging *samsāra*. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* gives a lead in symbolizing the wheel more elaborately and employing a metaphor with a wide range of concepts. The *Mahābhārata*, in its *Anugītā*, elaborates it still further and stresses the different concepts inherited from the Vedas and the *Upaniṣads*. It is, again, here that we meet, for the first time, with the idea of *Dharmacakrapravartana* or turning the wheel of Eternal Doctrine, in unambiguous terms and with complete metaphorical applications. We have also seen in the *Rgveda* that the *cakra* was used as a symbol of the sovereign authority of a Monarch.

Buddhism, later, gave wider currency to the symbolism of the wheel by incorporating all the above ideas and making it a household word for Buddhists. In the Veda, the wheel represents also the sun. But in Buddhism it is a sign of the moon when it refers to the Celestial Wheel of the Wheel-turning Monarch who watches it raising in the east at night. So also in the *Mahābhārata* where 'the mild moon of the thousand rays' has been included instead of the wheel among the seven treasures. In Vedic rituals, the wheel is employed to represent the sun and not the moon. In the Vedas, it is a symbol of the regular course of the sun; it is a symbol of *rta* (*cf. rtasya cakram*, *RV* 1. 164. 21). Both in Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literatures, the 'seven treasures' are merely mythical or symbolical, since they are endowed with some supernatural powers

and qualities. The expression 'turning the wheel' also goes back to the Vedas. Indra 'turns the wheel' bringing light to the Aryans roaming in the darkness. We find the expression used also in connection with *Dharma* or eternal doctrine in the *Anugītā* (400 B.C.).<sup>16</sup> No doubt, Lord Buddha made it a household phrase in Buddhism but we cannot say that he first originated and then gave currency to this phrase. He may have picked it up from its current usage. The symbolism of *cakra*, the conception of *cakravartin*, and the phrase 'turning the wheel' are definitely pre-Buddhist.

The wheel as a symbol, however, goes still back, and has to be taken as Indo-European, in origin. It was used as a symbol by the Scythian race of Central Asia.<sup>17</sup> It found a place in the Mid-summer fire rituals in Europe; in magical rites in Greece;<sup>18</sup> and in the hand of the Celtic god.<sup>19</sup> In all these countries, the *cakra* (wheel) was employed just as a symbol of the sun. But as discussed above, in detail, in Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literatures, it is much more than that; *cakra* as a circle has neither beginning nor end, and in value it is infinite. It is, in plain, a sign of eternity, completeness (*pūrṇatā*), continuity and incessant progress, and, above all, in Buddhism particularly, it is a divine symbol of eternal Doctrine, the *Dharma*, of the "Middle Path" which leads to insight, supreme wisdom, and *Nirvāṇa*.

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16. Vide, *Introduction to the Anugītā* by K. T. Telang, in *Bhagavadgītā* etc., (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. VIII), p. 215.

17. See G. D. Alriella, 'Prayer wheels', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (ERE)*, (Ed. Hastings), vol. X, p. 214b.

18. See P. E. Crawley, 'May mid-summer', *ERE*, vol. VIII, pp. 501-3; 'Magical circle', *ibid.*, pp. 321-4.

19. See J. A. Mac Culloch, 'Charms and amulets (Celtic)', *ERE*, vol. VIII, p. 413.

## THE VAIŚEŚIKA SCHOOLS \*

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The problem of the history of the *Vaiśeśika* system and its reconstruction are beset with certain difficulties. Firstly, we do not have at our disposal the ancient works of this system, most of which are now lost and a few of them still not available in print. Secondly, the fusion of the *Vaiśeśika* system with the *Nyāya* system has resulted in the negligence of the former. Again, references available in the extant *Vaiśeśika* literature and allied systems of Indian thought, induce one to believe that some of the *Vaiśeśika* tenets have undergone change and development in course of time and also, that there were several schools with different traditions of *Sūtra*-exegesis holding different views on various points.<sup>1</sup> From references in Jaina works, it is quite clear that there were two traditions of *Vaiśeśika* *Sūtra*-exegesis, being, (1) the *Vākyā* tradition, represented by the commentary of *Praśastamati*, and (2) the *Kaṭandī* tradition represented by the *Bhāṣya* of *Rāvaṇa* and the subsequent literature following this tradition.<sup>2</sup> These two traditions, demonstrate, among other things, differences in the interpretation of the *sūtras*.

In the *Yaśastilakacampū* of *Somadeva* and some other Jaina works<sup>3</sup> we come across a reference to two distinct classes of

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1. *Vide*, *Ananta Lal Thakur*, *Mithila Vṛtti* (*MV*), (Darbhanga, 1957), Introduction, pp. 16-17; pp. 11 sq.; *Vaiśeśikasūtra* of *Kaṇāda* with the com. of *Candrānanda* (*GOS*, No. 136), (Baroda, 1961), Intr., pp. 10 sq.

2. *Vide*, Extracts from *Dvadasāraṇayacakra* and its *vṛtti*, as collected in (*GOS*, No. 136), *ibid.*, pp. 146 sq. and on pp. 150-51 fn. : *sūtrārthah Kaṭandyām vyākhyātah*; *atra kila uttaram Kaṭandikāra āha*; *Vākyām sabhāṣyam Praśasto 'nyathā vyācaṣṭe*; *Bhāṣyam api ... caitām arthām darśayati ... vākyām sabhāṣyam ... vidvāṣyan Praśasto' nyathā vyācaṣṭe .....* *Bhāṣyam apīti vākyasya grantho' pi ... etām arthām darsayati*; *VS Upaskara* (*VSU*) by *Śaṅkara Miśra*, Ed. *ChSS*, Varanasi, 1923), 4. 1. 10 refers to the different views of various teachers.

3. *Vide*, *K. K. Handiqui*, *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture*, chs. VIII, IX.

Vaiśeṣikas, viz., the *Saiddhāntikas* and the *Tārkikas*. It appears that the *Saiddhāntikas* were those who based their comments, findings and elaboration of the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* of Kaṇāda (VS) purely on the traditional *Vaiśeṣika* tenets, uninfluenced by the methods of the *Naiyāyikas*, while the *Tārkikas* were those who adopted the *Naiyāyika*-style and were also influenced by the *Naiyāyika* view-points.

In fact, several *Vaiśeṣika* schools seem to have emerged, in course of time, each holding specific views and commenting on the *Sūtras* accordingly. The Chinese tradition informs us that there were eighteen sub-schools in the *Vaiśeṣika* system.<sup>4</sup> The sub-schools in the system differed from one another on points such as the means of validity (*Pramāṇas*), the definitions of the means of valid proof as well as concepts of bondage and liberation, the existence of the Supreme Godhead, the number of categories, the interpretation of the sūtras and the reading of some of the important sūtras.

The views of different *Vaiśeṣika* authors as quoted in the extant *Vaiśeṣika* literature and the references found scattered in the literature of other philosophical systems indicate that, in the *Vaiśeṣika* system itself, there were different modes and methods of sūtra-interpretation. Some authors have been shown as splitting a particular sūtra, while others do not.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, on the meaning of some specific sūtras also, authors are found quoted as differing from one another.<sup>6</sup>

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We are informed that both these classes of *Vaiśeṣikas* differed on the means of attaining liberation. See also *MV*, Intr., p. 16, and Bhāskaranandi's *Vṛtti* on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, (Mysore, 1941), 1.1, (pp 2-3).

4. Cf. H. U., *The Vaiśeṣika philosophy*, (Indian reprint, Varanasi, 1962), pp. 8-9.

5. Cf., *Upaskāra* 7.1.6 and *MV* 7.1.5-6, (p. 65). See also *Upaskāra*, 4.1.4. In the *MV*, 1.1.5, Ātreya has been stated as holding *rūparasagandhasparśāḥ* as a compound word which indicates that there were other teachers who preferred to split this expression. In various recensions, we come across many sūtras that are split and several others are taken as a component part of the sūtra. Cf. *Upaskāra*, 6.2.3 and *MV* 6.2.3-5; *Upaskāra*, 7.1.6 and *MV* 7.1.5-7; *Upaskāra* 7.1.15 and *MV* 7.1.19-20 etc. Cf., also, *MV* 7.1.5-6, (p. 65), where two sūtras have been explained together.

6. The views of a 'Bhāṣyakāra' have been referred to in the *MV* 2.1.7 (p. 20), 2.1.13 (p. 21), 3.2.4, (p. 40) and 5.2.3 (p. 53). *Vide* also

Since the extant *Kaṇāda Sūtras* are the mainstream and source for the subsequent development of the *Vaiśeṣika* system, it has to be accepted beyond any doubt that the vagueness, meaningfulness, breadness and comprehensive character of the language of the sūtras, and their interpretation and exegetic elucidation gave birth to different schools. The *Daśapadārtha* School, which is represented by the *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, clearly demonstrates this fact.

In the *Kaṇāda Sūtras* we find specific mention of the six *bhāva* categories and enumeration of seventeen qualities in all. In *Praśastapāda*'s extant work, we find seven qualities added to this list of seventeen.<sup>7</sup> It shows that some other school of interpretation which had emerged before *Praśastapāda* added seven qualities to the list of seventeen enumerated in the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*. Scholars have pointed out that the meaning of *drṣṭa*, and *adṛṣṭa*, too, has undergone much change between the time of the *Sūtrakāra* and that of *Praśastapāda*.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, the problem of creation in relation to the atoms has not been explained in the *Sūtras*. We have only such expressions as *anu* (small) and *mahat* (great), in their broad literal meanings.<sup>9</sup> The size of the *paramāṇus* has been referred to in the sūtras as eternal only once : *nityam parimāṇḍalam* (*VSU* 7.1.20). It also seems probable that the word *parimāṇḍala* here is taken in its basic literal meaning of 'coming around',

*Vṛtti* and *VS* 2.2.25 (p. 31); Śaṅkara Miśra quotes, at places, the views of the 'Vṛttikārā' (1. 2. 6; 3. 1. 17; 4. 1. 7; 6. 1. 12; 9. 2. 8, 13 etc.), 'Ācāryāḥ' (1. 2. 6) and 'Praśastācārya' (9. 2. 13); Candrānanda also refers to the views of a 'Vṛttikārā' (9. 21, p. 70). See also the different traditions of the *Sūtra*-exegesis which have been noticed in fn. 2, above.

7. *Padārthadharmasamgraha* of *Praśastapāda*, ed. Gopinath Kaviraj, (ChSS. Varanasi, 1924-27), (PDS), p 47 ..... *guṇāḥ* ..... *kanṭhokitāḥ* *saptadaśa* *caśabdāsaṁuccitāśca* *gurutva--dravatva-sneha-saṁskāra-adṛṣṭa-sabdāḥ* *saptāiva* *iti evam* *caturviṁśati**guṇāḥ*.

8. A. L. Thakur *MV*, Intro., pp. 18-19. See also under the sections on *adrṣṭa* and *dharma*, in his paper 'The *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy', *Rtam* (Lucknow), 1. i (1969) 51-59.

9. Cf., *anor* *mahatas* *ca* *upalabdhyanupalabdhī* *nitye* *vyākhyāte*, *VSU*, 8. 1. 9.

though later commentators have associated it with the size of the atom.<sup>10</sup>

The concept of *āṇu* and *paramāṇu* as exemplified in the *Kaṇāda Sūtras* do not indicate the vivid exposition of any atomic theory as detailed in later commentaries. The word *paramāṇu* occurs once in the *Sūtras*<sup>11</sup> while the word *āṇu* is found in nine *sūtras*.<sup>12</sup> The earliest reference to the concept of atoms as developed into a 'Universal atomic theory of creation' along with the inclusion of *Īśvara* is to be found in the *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* (*PDS*) of Praśastapāda.<sup>13</sup> This is an independent development from the views of the *Sūtrakāra* and presupposes the emergence of certain schools of interpretation before this idea took its final shape in Praśastapāda's treatise.

Likewise, the concept of *Īśvara* was also a point of difference and divergence between the different schools of the Vaiśeṣika system. In the *Sūtras*, the concept of Supreme Godhead has nowhere been vividly elaborated. The term *Īśvara* does not occur in the *sūtras*. However, the clue to the assumption of this specific concept is to be found in a few *sūtras*.<sup>14</sup> Keeping apart the later commentaries on these *sūtras*, it can safely be concluded that *Īśvara* was not originally meant in the *Sūtras* by Kaṇāda.<sup>15</sup>

There is also the testimony of the fact that in the *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, which belongs to the post-Praśastapāda times, the Atomic

10. For example, Śaṅkara Miśra says: *parimāṇḍalam eva parimāṇḍalyam* (*Upaskāra*, p. 169); vide also, *MV* (7. 1. 22), *paramāṇuparimāṇam nityam avināśi. katham ityatrāṇyeta deva uttarāṇi, nityam parimāṇḍalam. parimāṇḍalam paramāṇu, tena āśrayanānātvābhāvāt paramāṇuparimāṇam, nityam*, (p. 68); *Candrānanda Vṛtti*, on *VS* 7. 1. 26; *paramāṇuparimāṇam Parimāṇḍalam tan nityam* (p. 55).

11. *Adravyavatvāt paramāṇau anupalabdhīḥ. VS (MV) 4. 1. 16.*

12. *VS (U) 4. 2. 4; 7. 1. 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 23; 7. 2. 11, 12.*

13. See *PDS*, pp. 277-78.

14. These *sūtras* are: *buddhipūrvā vākyakṛtīr* vide, *VS* 6, 1. 1; *tad vacanād āmnāyasya paramāṇyam*, 1, 1. 3.

15. Kaṇāda takes into account the pragmatic aspect of reality and hence the idea of Supreme Godhead does not find any proper place in his philosophy.

theory of creation finds place, and this treatise, shows no alliance to the idea of God.<sup>16</sup> And, if the assertion of *Yuktidīpikā*, the famous ancient anonymous Sāṃkhya commentary, is to be believed, the insertion of the idea of God in the *Vaiśeṣika* system was due to an external influence.<sup>17</sup> Whether or not this assertion might be true in its spirit, it points to the existence of several *Vaiśeṣika* schools differing in the matter of the introduction of the idea of Supreme Godhead in *Vaiśeṣika* tenets.

The same is the case with the number of categories. A thorough study of the *Vaiśeṣika Daśapadārthaśāstra* reveals that divergent views were prevalent among the schools of the system with regard to the exact number of the categories to be maintained. At least there was one school which maintained four more categories in addition to the six enumerated in the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*.<sup>18</sup> The clue to the assumption of the ten categories came from the *sūtras* themselves,<sup>19</sup> which were dropped later on taking into consideration the realistic and the pragmatic view-points of the *Vaiśeṣika* system. The position was afterwards made clear by Śivāditya Miśra when he established the seven categories in his *Saptapadārthī*.<sup>20</sup>

16. Vide our restoration of the text, 1. 3. 7-13, in the *J of the Gaṅgānātha Jha Res. Inst.*, 19 (1963-63) 150-51; cf., also, 2. 2. 2, *sūtras*, 10, 14; 2. 2. 5, *sūtras*, 18-23, *ibid.*, 20-31 (1962-65) 116-18.

17. *Kaṇādānām iśvaro 'stīti pāśupatopajñām etat.* *Yuktidīpikā*, (Ed., R. C. Pandeya, Varanasi, 1967), p. 73; vide, also p. 72.

18. 'Dravya-guṇa-karma-sāmāya-viśeṣa-samavāya-śakti-aśakti-sāmānyavīśeṣa-asattvāni daśapadārthāḥ', *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, 1. 1. 1. *J Ganganatha Jha Res. Inst.*, 19 (1962-63) 149.

19. Kaṇāda mentions six categories verbatim, *VS* 1. 1. 5; the word *sāmānya-viśeṣa* occurs in 1. 1. 7; the clue to the category of *sāmānya-viśeṣa* might have come from *VS* I, 1. 5, *dravyatvām guṇatvām karmatvām ca sāmānyāni viśeṣāḥ ca*; Vide, also *sūtras*, 10, 14, 16; the basis of the category of *abhāva* (or *asattva*) is the *VS* 6. 2. 9: 9. 1. 1, 4, 7, 8; *Śakti* may be traced to the *sūtras* 2. 2. 8, 12, *tattvām bhāvenā*); *śakti* and *aśakti* are the categories that are held keeping in view the intrinsic nature of the material things.

20. *Saptapadārthī*, (Ed. J. S. Jetly, Ahmedabad, 1963), p. 5; *pramitivisayāḥ padārthāḥ te ca dravya-guṇa-karma-sāmānya-viśeṣa-samavāyaśākhyāḥ saptāiva, sūtras 1-2*, (pp. 4-5). Vide also, pp. 40-42.

Again, the conception of the different sub-divisions of the category of *abhāva* presupposes some difference of opinion in the various schools of the system. This is evidenced also by the five kinds of *abhāva* accepted by Candramati, the author of the *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, while only four kinds are accepted by other teachers of the *Vaiśeṣika* system.<sup>21</sup>

A word or two may also be added here regarding the number of *Pramāṇas*. It is generally held by scholars that the *Vaiśeṣika* maintains two *Pramāṇas*, viz., Perception (*Pratyakṣa*) and Inference (*Anumāna*).<sup>22</sup> But there are places where we find indication of the fact that the *Vaiśeṣikas* maintain three *Pramāṇas*, adding *Āgama* to the above two.<sup>23</sup> Scholars have pointed out to the possibility of this being due to the influence of the *Pāśupata* system.<sup>24</sup> This also presupposes the existence of some *Vaiśeṣika* schools that differed on the number of *Pramāṇas*.

We also come across some references to the different viewpoints of the *Vaiśeṣikas* regarding the components of a syllogism,<sup>25</sup> *pakṣa*, *sādhya*, *hetvābhāṣas*, *hetus* etc.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from this, the existence of different schools of the system is proved by different traditions and methods adopted by different commentators. We find different *Sūtra*-traditions, like, for example, Maithila, Bengal, Southern and that prevalent in Gujarat (Jaina tradition). Some commentators hailed from Gujarat, while others from the south and still others belonged to Mithilā and

21. *abhāvastu prāgabhāva-pradhvamsābhāva-atyantābhāva- anyonyābhāva-lakṣaṇaś caturvidhāḥ*, *Saptapadārthi*, *sūtra* 9 (p. 10); but see, *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, 1.11.1-2; *pañcāsattvāni asattvapadārtha ucyate ..... prāgasattvam, anantarāsattvam, anyonyāsattvam, svābhāvikasattvam, atyantāsattvam ceti*, *J Ganganatha Jha Res. Inst.*, 19 (1962-63) 156-57.

22. Vide *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 31, *pratyakṣānumāne eva iti Vaiśeṣika-Bauddhāḥ*.

23. *Vyomavatī*, p. 20 (Jha), cf., *MV* 2.1.16 (p. 21).

24. Thakur, ibid., *Intro.* p. 16.

25. Among the *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Vādivāgīśvara*, held that a syllogism comprised of only two components, viz., *pratijñā* and *drṣṭānta*, vide *MV* 2.1.17, (p. 36).

26. Vide, the restoration of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of *Dīṇāṅga* along with the *Viśālāmalavatī-tīkā* by *Muniśrī Jambūvijayaji*, (GOS, No. 136, Baroda, 1961), pp. 201 sq.

Bengal. This also proves the existence of different *Vaiśeśika* schools which had their own tradition of sūtra-interpretation and held their specific views regarding the different principles and tenets of the *Vaiśeśika* system.

From the above findings it becomes quite clear that in the *Vaiśeśika* system, there emerged, in course of time, various schools which differed on some doctrinal points or sūtra-exegesis. It is also probable that each of these schools had its own sūtra-tradition but, if they had no independent sūtra-texts, it is certain that they differed from one another on some points or methods or doctrines regarding the interpretation of the sūtras.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF  
THE SANSKRIT TERM 'DEVĀNĀMPRIYA'

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The Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini lays down<sup>1</sup> that, in a *śaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound, the case ending of the first member is dropped unless a pejorative intention is implied. To this general rule Kātyāyana takes exception in certain cases, one of them being *devānāmpriya*.<sup>2</sup> His ideas, obviously, is that in the compound *devānāmpriya*, though the genitive case ending of the first member, viz., *devānām*, is retained, the sense of the compound is not pejorative or derogatory. In other words, he clearly envisaged a good sense for *devānāmpriya*, though it conflicted with Pāṇini's rule under reference.

Did Pāṇini include the compound *devānāmpriya* within the purview of his rule 6.3.21, which Kātyāyana aimed at excluding from it through his *vārttika*? It does not seem that Pāṇini, intended to take *devānāmpriya* necessarily in a derogatory sense under his aforesaid rule, for it was in use, in a good sense even in Vedic texts, though in an uncompounded form, as can be seen from the *Rgveda*.<sup>3</sup> Pāṇini could have thought that *devānāmpriya* could

1. Cf. his *Asṭādhyāyī*, 6.3.21 : *saṣṭhyā akroṣe*.

2. Vide his *vārttika*, *devanampriya iti ca*, on the above sutra.

3. Cf., *Rgveda* 9.85.2 :

अस्मान्त्समर्थे पंवमान चोदयु दक्षो देवानामसि हि प्रियो मदः ।  
जुहि शत्रूरभ्या भन्दनायुतः पिबेन्द्र सोमुमवं नु मृधों जहि ॥

Cf., Sāyaṇa's comments on the above mantra :

दक्षः हि असि समर्थः खलु भवसि देवानां मध्ये । यद्वा । देवानां प्रीणनाय  
दक्षोऽसि । यद्वा दक्षस्त्वं देवानां प्रियः प्रियकरो मदः मादयितासि हि । See also *Baudha-*  
*yana Grhyasūtra*, 1.22.15 : यो देवस्य प्रियो विद्वान् देवस्य पदमाप्नुयात् ।

be used in the uncompounded form, for, as a matter of fact, there is no difference in its uncompounded and compounded forms, externally, in the sense in which it was current. He did not feel the need to treat it as a compound as a matter of necessity and, therefore, did not say anything about it. But Kātyāyana envisaged the possibility of the expression being taken as a compound as well, which, according to the said rule of Pāṇini, could invest the word with a derogatory connotation, and, to guard against that eventuality he thought it worthwhile to remove the confusion for ever by laying down a special *vārttika* in regard to it.

In the third century B.C., we find Aśoka using the title *Devānāmpriya* for himself in his epigraphs. In Rock Edict III (Girnar version), he calls himself *Devānāmpriyo Piyadasi Rājā*,<sup>4</sup> in Minor Rock Edict I (Maski) he assumes the name *Devānāmpriya Asoka*<sup>5</sup> and in Pillar Edict VII and elsewhere he refers to himself as *Devānāmpriye Piyadasi*.<sup>6</sup> In Rock Edict VIII he mentions former kings also as *Devānāmpriya*.<sup>7</sup> One of his successors, Daśaratha, also calls himself *Devānāmpriya* in his cave inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> The Pali chronicle *Dīpavāmsa* (11. 39) calls the first king of Ceylon as 'Devānāmpriya' Tissa.

On the basis of the aforesaid usage of the term *devānāmpriya*, D. R. Bhandarkar holds that it was "an auspicious mode of address or honorific characterisation before the Christian era, confined

4. A. C. Woolner, *Aśoka : Text and Glossary*, I, p. 4 : Shahbazgarhi version, देवनम् प्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज ; Mansehra version, (दे)वन प्रिये (प्रियद्रशि रज ; Girnar version, देवानम् प्रियो (प्रियो) प्रियदसि राजा ; Kalsi version, देवानम् प्रिये प्रियदसि लाजा ; Dhauli version, देवानं प्रिये प्रियदसि लाजा ; same in Jaugad.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33 : Rupnath version, देवानम् प्रिये, Sahastri version, देवानाम् प्रिये ; Brahmagiri version, देवाणम् प्रिये ; Siddhapur version, (देव)आनम् प्रिये ; Jatinga-Ramesvar version, देवानं (प्रिये) ; Maski version, देवानं प्रियस असोकस ।

6. *Ibid.*, p. 50 ; for full references see, *ibid.*, II, p. 95.

7. *ibid.*, I, p. 15, Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra and Kalsi versions have the expression *devanampriya* for earlier kings but Girnar, Dhauli and Jaugad versions have only *raja* for them.

8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 52 : दष्लथेन देवानम् प्रियेना, दष्लथेना देवा(न)म् प्रियेना ।

to the kings only, and so used probably to indicate the belief that the rulers were under the protection of gods".<sup>9</sup> Likewise, B. M. Barua thinks that "devānāmpriya (Ardhamāgadhi *Devāñuppiya*), employed whether as a substitute for the word *rājā* (R. E. VIII) or as a prefix to the name Aśoka (M. R. E. Maski) or Piyadasi, was nothing but an honorific (*pūjā-vacana*) or auspicious mode of address like *tatrabhavān*, *dīrghāyus* and *āyuṣmat*. Considered, however, from the ceremony of consecration to be undergone by a king-elect, it meant no more than one who was divinely favoured, or divinely gifted. We have seen that, at the time of consecration, such Vedic divinities as Savitar, the true progenitor, Agni, the lord of the household, Soma, the lord of plants, Bṛhaspati, the Logos, Indra, the supreme, Rudra, the lord of cattle, Mitra, the true bond of friendship, and Varuṇa, the lord of righteousness, were invoked by the officiating priest to bestow their special favours on the king-elect in order to see him fully endowed or gifted with majesty, suzerainty, power, glory, health, wealth, beauty, prosperity, safety, security, increase in family, name and fame, friendship, culture, truth, piety and righteousness".<sup>10</sup> Thinking in the same vein, V. A. Smith translates this term as 'His sacred and gracious Majesty' and, following him, R K. Mookerji renders it as 'His sacred Majesty'.<sup>11</sup> D. C. sircar also considers it to be 'a royal title assumed by the Maurya kings'.<sup>12</sup>

Not only in modern times but also in the ancient period, the association of *devānāmpriya* with Aśoka, in particular, led to its being invested with a connotation suggesting some significant achievements of that monarch. For example, in the *Apadāna*, where we find a nucleus of Aśoka legend,<sup>13</sup> the concept of *devānāmpriya*, in the form *devatānāmpriya*, is impregnated with the Aśokan idea of inculcating the moral precepts of conduct among the people and

9. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 7-8.

10. B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and his inscriptions*, p. 16.

11. R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 108; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political history of Ancient India*, p. 221.

12. D. C. Sircar, *Indian epigraphical glossary*, p. 89.

13. C. D. Chatterjee, 'Evolution of Aśokan legends in the *Avadānas*', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1 (1967-68) 118.

thereby enabling them to attain a happy state.<sup>14</sup> Here, the significant achievement of Aśoka, namely, the uplifting of the moral calibre of his people through the dissemination of a righteous way of life with a view to ensuring their happiness, both here and hereafter, is engrafted on the meaning of the honorific *devānāmpriya*. In this way, Aśoka and his ideal became identical with the idea behind *devānāmpriya*. But this association told heavily, in another way, on the fortunes of this term, as we shall see below.

Originally, and from the grammatical point of view, the term *devānāmpriya* was simply a mode of address implying respect, dignity and honour, without any special reference to kings or royal personages. Commenting on Pāṇini's sūtra 6.3.21, Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, simply recapitulates the vārttika of Kātyāyana without suggesting any sense of contempt.<sup>15</sup> Again, discussing Pāṇini's sūtra 5.3.14, he mentions *devānāmpriya* along with other honorifics *bhavad*, *dīrghāyus* and *āyuṣmat*.<sup>16</sup> Commenting on the same sūtra, the *Kāśikā* also refers to *devānāmpriya* without implying any derogatory sense.<sup>17</sup> The *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta follow the *Kāśikā* in this respect. The *Cāndravyākarana* of Candragomin<sup>18</sup> mentions the word with *bhavad*, *dīrghāyus* and

14. *Apadāna*, I, p. 60 :

इमस्मै भद्रके कप्पे एको आसि जनाधिपो ।  
 महानुभावो राजा'सि चक्रवत्ति महाबलो ॥  
 सोऽहं पञ्चसु सीलेसु ठपेत्वा जनतं बहुम् ।  
 पापेत्वा सुगति येव देवतानाम्भियो अहम् ॥

See also Buddhaghosa, *Manorathapurani*, I, p. 154.

15. *Mahābhāṣya* on 6.3.21 : देवानाम्भिय इति चोपसंख्यानम् कर्तव्यम् ।

16. *Ibid.*, on 5.3.14 (इतराम्भोऽपि दूश्यन्ते) : के पुनर्भवदादयः । भवान्दीर्घायु-देवानाम्भिय आयुष्मानिति ।

17. *Kāśikā* of Jayāditya and Vāmana : देवानाम्भिय इत्यत्र च पष्टया अलुक् वक्तव्यः ।

18. *Cāndravyākarana*, (4.3.12) (Ed. K. C. Chatterji, Vol. II, p. 71) ; भवद् दीर्घायुग्यायुष्मद् देवानाम्भियैस्तेऽन्याभ्यश्च । भवदादिभिर्ये ते तसादयो अन्याभ्योऽपि विभक्तिभ्यो वा भवन्ति । स भवान्, ततो भवान्, तत्र भवान्, तं भवन्तं, ततो भवन्तं, तत्र भवन्तं……एवं स दीर्घायुः, स आयुष्मान्, स देवानाम्भिय इति सर्वत्र योज्यम् ।

*ayuṣmat*, as in Patañjali's gloss on 5.3.14. The *Jainendravyākaraṇa* of Devanandin and the commentary *Mahāvṛtti* thereon by Abhayanandin are, likewise, silent about any pejorative significance to the word. They lay down an explicit exception in regard to this word and, like Kātyāyana, emphasise its good connotation.<sup>19</sup> The *Śakaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa* enumerates it in a list of several other words, like *brāhmaṇācchāmṣi*, *pumānuja*, *januśāndha*, *gośucara* and *divodāsa*, where no contempt is intended.<sup>20</sup> Hemacandra, in his *Siddha-Haima-Śabdānuśāsana*, follows the practice of Kātyāyana and Devanandin in treating this term as an exception to the general rule of retaining the genitive case ending of the first member of a *tatpuruṣa-saṃāsa* to indicate contempt.<sup>21</sup>

In literary usage also *devānāmpriya* is used as a common honorific and respectful mode of address. In the *Ardhamāgadhi* sūtras of the Jaina canon we find this usage of this term.<sup>22</sup> In the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Sāvitrī is made to address Dadhīca as *devānāmpriya*<sup>23</sup> Here no idea of royalty is implied; only common courtesy is intended. Thus it is clear that the title *devānāmpriya*

19. *Jainendravyākaraṇa* of Devanandin with *Mahāvṛtti* of Abhayanandin (Ed. Samblu Nath Tripathi, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, p. 303): ताया अक्षोशे (4. 2. 134) | देवानाम्प्रियादिव्वनुप् (वाचिक) |

20. *Śakaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*, 2. 2. 21: क्षाह्याणाच्छंसि-पुंसानुज-जनुषान्ध-गोषु-चर-दिवोदास-देवानाम्प्रियाः | Cintemāṇi in his *Laghuvṛtti*, however, equates *devānāmpriya* with *mūrka* (fool).

21. *Siddha-Haima-Śabdānuśāsana*, (Ed. Muni Himāṃśuvijaya, p. 169): षष्ठ्या क्षेपे (3. 2. 30), देवानाम्प्रियः (3. 2. 34). Cf. also, अत्र षष्ठ्या लूढ न स्यात् | (स्वोपज्ञलघूवृत्ति) |

22. *Kalpasūtra*, (Ed. Candrasāgarasūri, *Siddhacakra-sāhitya-pracāraka samiti*, Surat), *Mahāvīra-caritra-prakaraṇa*, 11-12: तए णं सा देवण्डा माहणी..... उसभदतं माहणं एवं वयासी एवमेव देवाणुप्पिया ।..... *Ibid.*, sūtra 78: इमे य णं देवाणुप्पिया । तिसलाए खत्तियाणीए चोद्दस महासुमिणा दिट्ठा तं उरालाणं देवाणुप्पिया । तिसलए खत्तियाणीए मुमिणा दिट्ठा जाव मंगलकारणं देवाणुप्पिया ।..... *ibid.*, sūtra 100: खिप्पामेव भो देवाणुप्पिया ! कुडपुरे नगरे चारगसोहणं करेह ।

23. Cf. यतस्त्रिभुवनाभिभावि रूपमिदमस्य महानुभावस्य सौजन्यपरतंत्रा चेयं देवान मित्रस्यातिभद्रता कारयति कथां न युवतिजनसहोत्था तरलता । *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series), p. 40.

was not confined to rulers only and that "it was not much of an honorific even, its sense being nearer to *āyusmān* than any other word".<sup>24</sup>

However, though *devānāmpriya* was a common term of address, denoting courtesy, if not respect, after its adoption by Aśoka, his contemporary Tissa and one of his successors Daśaratha, it acquired a royal connotation and became associated particularly with the Mauryas, who were distinctively non-brāhmaṇical, if not anti-brāhmaṇical, in their outlook and policies. It is well known that some of the policies of the Mauryas, being out of tune with the cherished notions of Indian intellectual élite, particularly the brāhmaṇas, were not relished by them and came in for criticism and innuendo at their hands. In the later Maurya period, they led to a virtual crisis expressing itself in oppression, indigence and misery. The task of running a big centralized bureaucracy with the shrinking resource of a crumbling empire entailed untold burden and suffering on the people, of which an idea can be had from texts like the *Yugapurāṇa*.<sup>25</sup> Hence, many of the concepts of the times of the Mauryas underwent a change of connotation and acquired a sense of acrimony and odium, *devānāmpriya* being one of them. When Patañjali wrote his *Mahābhāṣya* in the dawn of the brahmanical renaissance under the Śungas, which promised to remove the troubles of the Maurya period, this word had acquired a pejorative sense in popular parlance, though its use as a courteous mode of address remained unimpaired in the circle of grammarians wedded to textual regulations. This is clear from a use of it in course of a conversation between a grammarian and a charioteer cited by Patañjali in his gloss on Pāṇini's sūtra, 2.4.56, *ajeryvaghañapoh*. There, the grammarian accosted the charioteer as *pravetā*, on which the latter presented himself as *prājīta*. The grammarian dubbed the term as a grammatical irregularity. This evoked a retort from the charioteer that the grammarian was a stickler for the letter of the rule (*prāptijñā*) and ignorant of its spirit (*iṣṭi*). In this talk, the charioteer, when he described himself as *prājīta*, addressed the grammarian as *āyusman*, but later,

24. Dasaratha Sharma, 'Devānāmpriya', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 25 (1950) 151.

25. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian history and civilization*, (Agra, 1962) pp. 194-202.

when the latter began to find fault with his grammar, obviously on the strength of superior knowledge of texts, rules and authorities but oblivious of current usage, idiom and parlance, he called the grammarian *devānāmpriya*.<sup>26</sup> This dialogue implies a dig at a person who flaunts his knowledge of rules of grammar but is blind to their currency in popular speech. That the intention here is to have a fling at a pedant trotting out texts and harping on their letters but not understanding their import and missing their spirit is manifest from the way this remark is quoted by the Buddhist *Vaiśhāsika* philosopher *Vasubandhu* in his *Abhidharmakośabhbhāṣya* (2.26). Here, the author discusses the number of *Kleśamahābhūmikās*. He cites a text showing that they are six, *moha*, *pramāda*, *kausīdya*, *āśraddhaya*, *styāna* and *uddhava*. But he adds that an abhidharma text mentions ten *Kleśamahābhūmikās*, viz., *āśraddhya*, *kausīdya*, *Muṣitasmṛtiā*, *cetasovikṣepa*, *avidyā*, *asamprajanya*, *ayoniśomanaskāra*, *mithyādhimokṣa*, *auddhatya* and *pramāda*. Then he quotes the remark of the *Mahābhāṣya* to the effect that a *devānāmpriya* knows the letter of the rule but does not know the spirit behind it. What is the spirit here? *Muṣitasmṛtiā*, *vikṣepa*, *asamprajanya*, *ayoniśomanaskāra* and *mithyādhimokṣa* are *Mahābhūmikās*, rather than *Kleśamahābhūmikās*.<sup>27</sup> Commenting on this passage *Yaśomitra* observes in his *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* that a *devānāmpriya* is one who sticks to the text of a passage and thus concludes that there are ten *Kleśamahābhūmikās*

26. See *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *sūtra* 2.4.56, (अजेव्यघजपोः) : एवं हि कश्चिद् वैयाकरण आह, 'कोऽस्य रथस्य प्रवेतेति' । सूत आह, 'आयुष्मन्नहं प्राजितेति' । वैयाकरण आह, 'अपशब्द' इति । सूत आह, 'प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानाम्प्रियो, न त्विष्टज्ञः । इष्यत एतद्वप्मिति' । वैयाकरण आह, 'अहो नु खल्वेतेन दुःतेन वाध्यामहे' इति । सूत आह, 'न खलु वेबः सूतः, सुवत्तेरेव सूतः । यदि सुवत्ते: कृत्सा प्रयोक्तव्या दुःसूतेनेति ववतव्यम् ।'

27. *Abhidharmakośabhbhāṣya* of *Vasubandhu*, 2.26, (ed. P. Pradhan, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1967, p. 56):

मोहः प्रमादः कौसीद्यमाश्रद्धयं स्त्यानमुद्धवः ।  
किलष्टे सदैव इतीमे षट् क्लेशमहाभूमिकाः ॥

ननु चाभिधमैः दश क्लेशमहाभूमिकाः पठ्यन्ते आश्रद्धयं कौसीद्यं मुषितस्मृतिता चेतसो विक्षेपः अविद्या असंप्रजन्यमयोनिशोमनस्कारो मिध्याधिमोक्ष श्रोद्धन्यं प्रमादश्चेति । प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानाम्प्रियो न त्विष्टज्ञः । का पुनरत्रेष्टः । मुषितस्मृतिताविक्षेप-संप्रजन्यायोनिशोमनस्कारमिध्याधिमोक्षा महाभूमिकत्वात् न क्लेशमहाभूमिका एवावधायन्ते ।

but misses the intention of the teachers who composed it. He then proceeds to explain the meaning of *devānāmpriya* and cites three views about it, viz., that (1) it signifies a simpleton, (2) connotes a straightforward person wanting in trickery, and (3) stands for a fool. Explaining the third view, he says that one who is an incorrigible devotee of the gods (or has implicit faith in them) cannot be taught or made to understand a thing which is opposed to his belief, even by beating him or by applying physical coercion.<sup>28</sup> From this usage it is clear that a derogatory sense is implied in Patañjali's use of *devānāmpriya* in the aforesaid context.

After Patañjali, or about his time, the practice of addressing an opponent in debate or disputation as *devānāmpriya* seems to have commenced. For example, in his comment on *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1.1.15, Śabaravāmin accosts a disputant who holds that a thing existing at one place cannot be simultaneously noticed at different places, as *devānāmpriya*, and advises him to look at the sun which is one but appears as existing at several places.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, Śaṅkara in his *Śārīrakabhaṇya* on the *Brahmasūtra*, 1.2.8, argues that *Brahman* is free from the experience of pleasure and pain, and merit and demerit, whereas the soul embodied in a person is subject to such experience. Here, he anticipates an objection, viz., that, since *Brahman*, alone exists and no soul can be conceived apart from *Brahman*, it is futile to draw the said distinction and hold that *Brahman* is immune from fruition or the experience of pleasure and pain. Answering the objection, Śaṅkara calls the objector *devānāmpriya* and counsels him to examine the texts like *tattvam asi*, *aham brahmāsmi* and *nānyo 'to 'sti vijñata*, in their full implication and not in their partial

28. See, *Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra, (ed. Narendra Nath Law, Calcutta, 1949, part II, p. 46): प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानाम्प्रियो न त्विष्टत्त इति । पाठ्प्रामाण्यमन्वेण दश क्लेशमहाभूमिकाः प्राप्ता इत्येतामेव प्राप्ति जानीते देवान म्प्रियः । न त्वाचाचायोणामिष्टमिच्छां जानीते । कोऽयं देवानाम्प्रियो नाम । ऋजुकजातीयो देवानाम्प्रिय इत्येके व्याचक्षते । अश्ठो हि देवानाम्प्रियो भवति । मूर्खो देवानाम्प्रिय इत्यपरे । यो हीश्वराणामिष्टः स न ताडनेन शिक्षते, इति मूर्खो भवतीति ।

See also *Abhidharmadīpa*, (ed. P. S. Jaini, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna), p. 75.

29. *Śārīrakabhaṇya* on *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, 1. 1. 15: यत् एकदेशस्य सतो नानादेवोषु युगपद्दर्शनमनुपपन्तमिति । आदित्यं पश्य, देवानाम्प्रिय, एकः सन् अनेकदेशान् वस्थित इव लक्ष्यते ।

connotation.<sup>30</sup> Translating this passage, Thibaut renders the term *devānāmpriya* as 'our wise opponent'<sup>31</sup> Here also we find a tilt at the opponent tethered to the texts of the scripture without appreciating their full import. Though it would be too much to say that in such usages of this term, as we find in the aforesaid passages of Patañjali, Śabara and Śaṅkara, it stands for a fool,—for no educated person, much less a philosophical disputant, would throw courtesy to the winds by openly calling his opponent a dunce,—yet one cannot miss in them a tinge of invective, or at least satire, at the overcleverness of a savant making a pedantic display of textual authority without caring to correlate it to the actual situation or practical reality.

However, later, in medieval times, the term *devānāmpriya* came to be used expressly in the sense of a fool (*mūrkha*). Kaiyatā, commenting on Patañjali's gloss on Pāṇini's sūtra, 2.4.56, goes to the extent of making the astounding remark that the word *deva* means a 'fool' (*mūrkha*) and one devoted or dear to fools is himself a fool. Being not sure of the sense of the word, he suggests, as an alternative, that one who takes things easily and loves pleasure, like the gods and does not, on that account, diligently study the texts and grasp their meaning, deserves to be dubbed a *devānāmpriya*.<sup>32</sup> While discussing the same sūtra, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* and Vāsudeva Dikṣita in his commentary *Bālamanoramā* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, repeat these remarks. And, Rāmacandra and Bhaṭṭoḍī Dikṣita go a step further and arbitrarily tinker with the text of Kātyāyana's *vārttika* by

30. *Sārīrakabhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra*, 1. 2. 8, (ed. Mahādeva Śāstri Bakre, Bombay 1934, p. 167) : इदं तावद् देवानाम्प्रियः प्रष्टव्यः—कथमयं त्वयात्मान्तराभावोऽध्यवसित इति । 'तत्त्वमसि', 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मि', 'नान्योऽतोऽस्ति विज्ञाता' इत्यादि शास्त्रेभ्य इति चेत् यथाशास्त्रं तर्हि शास्त्रीयोऽर्थः प्रतिपत्तव्यो न तत्रार्धजरतीयं लभ्यम् ।

31. G. Thibaut, *Vedānta Sūtras*, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 34, p. 116) : "How have you, our wise opponent, ascertained that there is no other self".

See also, S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahmasūtra*, p. 273. For an almost similar use of *devānāmpriya* see Śāntarakṣita, *Vādānyāya*, (ed. Rahul Sankritiyayana, Benaras, 1936) pp. 43-47).

32. Cf. देवशब्दो मूर्खवाचि, मूर्खणां च प्रिया मूर्खा एव । अथवा सुखासक्ततया शास्त्रानभियोगोऽनेन प्रतिपाद्यते ।

adding the word *mūrkhe* to it and reading it as *devānāmpriya iti ca mūrkhe*.<sup>33</sup>

Here, a question naturally arises: How has the word *deva* which is so sacrosanct in brāhmaṇical usage, come to acquire the meaning of a 'fool' (*mūrkha*). Obviously, it would be difficult to ascribe this development to brāhmaṇical circles, by reason of their predominant theistic orientation; rather, it seems plausible to trace it to non-theistic sources like the Buddhist, particularly in their philosophical aspect. The gloss of Yaśomitra on the *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu, cited above, shows that in his traditional circle, *devānāmpriya* had come to acquire the sense of a simpleton or fool because it was held that if one believed in gods and explained everything with reference to them, thereby throwing to the winds even logic and common sense, then no persuasion, nor even coercion, could deflect him from his intransigence and bring him to the track of reason. This appears to be a typically Buddhist way of thinking. Since the Buddhists occupied a dominant position in the field of philosophical disputation, as is clear from the works of Śaṅkara, Kumārila, Jayanta, Vācaspati Miśra etc., some of their concepts, including *deva* and *devānāmpriya*, seem to have entered the brāhmaṇical circles and become current usage, there too.

But, again, one may ask as to why the Buddhists consented to degrade the meaning of *devānāmpriya* when it was borne as a title by one of their most revered kings, viz., Aśoka. The answer is simple. Buddhism, as conceived by Aśoka, was much different from that adumbrated in later philosophical schools. Aśoka had, in spite of his emphasis on purely moral precepts and avoidance of all doctrinaire subtleties, some conception of after-life and some notion of *devas* as beings superior to ordinary men. In this connection it may be noted that in Pāli texts three kinds of *devas* are mentioned: viz., *Sammutidevas*, *Upapattiidevas* and *Visuddhidevas*, signifying, respectively, (1) kings, queens and royal personages, (2) denizens of the *devaloka* having been born there,

33. Jñānendra Sarasvatī, in his *Tattvabodhīnī* on the *Siddhāntakaumudi*, offers a different explanation of the use of *devānāmpriya* in the sense of fool: पश्वो हि देवानां प्रीतिं जनयति इते तेषां प्रियास्तथा च तत्प्रियत्वेन पशुतुल्यता प्रतीयते इत्यतः पशुवन्मूर्खं इति तदर्थः।

and (3) saints, elders and the religieux.<sup>34</sup> But, since this word had a strong theistic connotation, it could not find favour with later logicians and philosophers for whom Buddhism was more a system of logical concepts, postulates and theories, rather than a matter of faith, belief and conduct. Hence forgetting that the word *deva* and, particularly its derivative *devānāmpriya*, was associated with Aśoka, and falling in line with current satirical and, then, derogatory use of it, as attested by Patañjali, Śabara and others, and also trying to evade all concepts having theistic intent or purport, they emphasized its pejorative connotation which eventually gained currency.

The above study leads us to the following points: (1) The word *devānāmpriya* conveyed, originally, the idea of courtesy and dignity, and even respect and honour, and as such, was used as a term of address in accomplished circles. (2) The grammarians were at pains to emphasize this sense of it and also to guard against the possibility of its being used in a derogatory sense by virtue of its having the form of a *śaṣṭhi-tatpuruṣa-samāsa*, with the genitive case ending of the first member intact. (3) In the third century B.C., Aśoka, his contemporary Tissa and his successor Daśaratha adopted it as their title, which resulted in its acquiring a royal connotation. (4) On account of the opprobrium attaching to the Mauryas in the period of their decline due to their peculiar and even extortionate policies, this title, which had a special association with them, developed an odious sense in popular parlance. (5) In particular, in the field of learned and philosophical disputations it began to be used for an opponent harping on texts and ignoring their import, as a term having a satirical tinge but bereft of a discourteous touch. (6) In course of time, in some philosophical

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34. Cf., *Cullaniddesa* (P. T. S. edn., p. 307): तयो देवा—समुत्तिदेवा, उपपत्तिदेवा, विसुद्धिदेवा ति । समुत्तिदेवा वुच्चन्ति राजानो च राजकुमारा च देवियो च । उपपत्तिदेवा वुच्चन्ति चानुम्महाराजिका देवा, तावर्तिसा देवा, तुसिता देवा, निम्मानरतिदेवा, परिनिमितवसवत्तिदेवा, ब्रह्मकायिका देवा, ये च देवा तदुत्तरि । विसुद्धिदेवा वुच्चन्ति तथागतसावका, अरहन्तो खीणासवा ये च पञ्चेकबुद्धा ।

schools, particularly Buddhist, it became a synonym for a simpleton or fool having blind faith in gods and obtuse to the voice of reason and logic. (7) Through the Buddhists, the word gained wider currency as a term of reproach and contempt and, eventually, in the medieval period, it came to mean a fool or dunce.

## SUNET : AN ANCIENT CITY OF PANJAB

By

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Sunet is a small village, situated in long.  $30^{\circ} 55' N.$  and at  $75^{\circ} 51' E.$ , about 5 km. west of Ludhiana, a short distance south of the Ludhiana-Ferozepur road.<sup>1</sup> Locally the village is called Uchchāpiṇḍ because of its being situated on a mound. The mound measures about 1750 feet in length, 1200 feet in breadth and about 12 feet in height, indicating the existence, in ancient times, of an once important city, as evidenced by the casual discoveries of important coins, coin-moulds, terracotta, inscribed seals and other antiquities.

According to V. S. Agrawala,<sup>2</sup> the present name Sunet can be derived from *Saunetra* mentioned by Pāṇini.<sup>3</sup> According to the grammatical rules, the city founded by Sunetra would be known as *Saunetra* : सुनेत्रेण निवृत्तम् नगरं सौनेत्रम्,<sup>4</sup> but the modern name Sunet is philologically more akin to Sunetra than Saunetra.<sup>5</sup> Sunetra is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādiparvan*, 94. 61), as one of the three sons of an earlier Dhṛitarāṣṭra, son of Janamejaya, and seems to have been remembered as the eponymous founder of the place.<sup>6</sup> If we accept this identification, which still remains to be corroborated by archaeological evidence, we have to suppose the existence of Sunet as a well-developed city in the 5th century B. C.—the date assigned to

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1. *Vide, Punjab District Gazetteer : Ludhiana District, 1888-89, pp. 19-20 ; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 437.*

2. Cf., V. S. Agrawala, *J of the Numismatic Soc. of India (JNSI)* 4 (1942) 47, and *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Varanasi, 1963), p. 74.

3. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4. 2. 75.

4. V. S. Agrawala, (1942), *op. cit.*, p. 48.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

Pāṇini.<sup>7</sup> Excavation of the site would surely throw welcome light on the life-history of the place and is, therefore, a great desideratum.<sup>8</sup>

In the absence of any scientific excavations, however, casual discoveries from the place have shed some spotlight on the life-history and importance of this ancient city. Sunet was first explored in 1878-79 by Alexander Cunningham who obtained more than one thousand old coins including some Yaudheya coins with the legend *Jaya-Yaudheya-gaṇasya*, one coin of Hermaeus, 269 coins of earlier Indo-Scythians, 132 of later Indo-Scythians, one Gupta coin and 126 coins of the Indo-Sassanian period along with two coins of Amoghabhūti, one of Uttamadatta, 17 of Vyāghra and 20 of Sāmanta Deva.<sup>9</sup> Cunningham also saw two fragments of sculptures in sandstone, one being the body of a male figure and the other the knee of a squatting figure, and large bricks measuring 13x8x2 inches.<sup>10</sup> A collection of clay objects, including mostly seals, sent by a certain Carr Stephens of Ludhiana to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1884, was exhibited before the Society and described by Hoernle, the then Secretary of the Society.<sup>11</sup> Hoernle gave particular attention to the three exceptional seals which bore the negative impression of an important Yaudheya coin figured by Prinsep<sup>12</sup> and thought that the impressions were made by using the actual coins as a die. He was, however, mistaken in taking these antiquities as seals or votive tablets which in reality were the first coin-moulds ever to be described from ancient India.<sup>13</sup> Hoernle assigned these 'seals or votive tablets' to the third century A. D. which, according to Vincent Smith, may be as late as the early part of the fourth century.<sup>14</sup> In 1895, Rodgers also referred to 'impressions

7. V. S. Agrawala (1963), *op. cit.*, pp. 477-78.

8. This has been suggested by other scholars as well. See, for instance, J. N. Agrawal, *JNSI* 28 (1966) 114.

9. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (ASR)* XIV, pp. 65-67 and 139-45, pl. 31.

10. *Ibid.*

11. A. F. R. Hoernle, 'Exhibition of clay seals from Ludhiana', *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* (1884) 137-40.

12. J. Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I, pl. IV.

13. B. Sahni, 'Yaudheya coin-moulds from Sunet near Ludhiana in the Sutlej valley,' *Current Science*, 10. ii (March. 1941) 65-67, figures 1-12.

14. Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, (Oxford, 1906), p. 165.

of seals in burnt clay' and published a number of copper coins from Sunet which, according to him, had Gupta characters and could be assigned to the 4th century A.D.<sup>15</sup> In 1908, Haraprasad Shastri gave a description of about 50 antiquities from Sunet, including many inscribed terracotta sealings.<sup>16</sup> Some more terracotta sealings belonging to the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods<sup>17</sup> were found in 1916-17. Daya Ram Sahni purchased some coin-moulds from Sunet in 1919 for the Lahore Museum<sup>18</sup> and some more were purchased by John Marshall in 1922 from a certain Miss Trewby.<sup>19</sup> In 1938 and 1940, 38 coin-moulds were purchased from Sunet by Jayachandra Vidyalankar and Amrit Pal, which were subsequently placed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benaras.<sup>20</sup> All the available coin-moulds from Sunet were studied by Birbal Sahni who reached the conclusion that they were all Yaudheya coin-moulds of circa third century A. D.—post-Kushāṇa and pre-Gupta,— and marked Sunet as a Yaudheya mint-site like Rohtak.<sup>21</sup> He has also given a description of the technique of casting coins from these moulds in ancient times.<sup>22</sup> Some clay seals and sealings from Sunet have been procured and described by Jagannath Agrawal<sup>23</sup> and G. B. Sharma.<sup>24</sup>

The sealings bearing the legend *Śaṅkara-Śāṅkara-Nārāyaṇābhyāṁ*<sup>25</sup> were probably the votive offerings to some temple dedicated jointly to Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa and it is suggested that the

15. C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of coins*, Part III, (Calcutta, 1895), pp. iv, 130-33 and 151-52.

16. *Annual Progress Report, Pb. Circle*, 1908, pp. 45 ff.

17. *Annual Progress Report, Northern Circle*, 1916-17, *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, p. 7.

18. *Ibid.*, 1920.

19. As referred to by Birbal Sahni, in his book *The technique of casting coins in Ancient India*, (Bombay, 1945), p. 34.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 57 and 61.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37 and 61.

23. *JNSI* 19 (1951) 71 f. ; 20 (1952) 67-69; 27 (1965) 98.

24. *JNSI* 30 (1968) 220-21 ; 31 (1969) 75-76 and pl. II. 7-8.

25. *J Royal As. Soc.*, (London), 1901, pp. 98 ff.; *JNSI*, 29. ii (1967) 30-31, pl. I, 11.

temple had the image of Hari-Hara.<sup>26</sup> Seals bearing the inscription *dharma-kartavya*<sup>27</sup> were suggested to be distributed amongst the Yaudheyas as tokens of their resolve to fight against the Kushāṇas and defeat them.<sup>28</sup> Seals bearing the inscription *datavyam bhogavyam* in Gupta characters<sup>29</sup> have been explained as being the ethical injunction for people that "things should be given and enjoyed."<sup>30</sup> The legend *siddhirastu* in Gupta characters<sup>31</sup> on terracotta sealings from Sunet is a popular motto and many similar seals have been found from elsewhere also.<sup>32</sup> P.L. Gupta remarks that sealings bearing slogans or mottos of ethics and religion were issued in ancient times as the modern printed labels or play-cards bearing moral sayings.<sup>33</sup> Acharya Bhagwan Deva has obtained a very large number of antiquities from Sunet<sup>34</sup> amongst which a terracotta seal with Brāhmi legends throwing welcome light on the administrative set up of the Yaudheyas is particularly notable.<sup>35</sup> Recently, the present writer also was able to get some antiquities comprising a few Yaudheya coins and coin-moulds, a terracotta with a beautiful lion to the left, terracotta sealings with the legends *dharma-kartavya*, *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇābhyaṁ*, *Śrīsthānasya*, *Śrīrindraguptasya* etc., and a beautiful though small terracotta head of

26. *Ibid.*

27. One such seal is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (no. 9151-A 11464) and another in the Allahabad Museum (*JNSI* 28 [1967] 206, pl. VI. 1). Earlier, six similar sealings had been published by Jagannath Agrawal (*JNSI* 19. i [ 951] 71 f., Pl. IV. 9).

28. Jagannath Agrawal, *JNSI* 19. i (1951) 71 f.; cf., K. K. Thaplyal (*JNSI* 29. ii [1967] 36-37, who sees in the legend *dharma-kartavya* an echo of the Upa-nishadic *dharmaṇi chara*. The latter view seems to be more probable.

29. Two such terracotta seals from Sunet are placed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (nos. 9124-114338 and 9130-A 11462); *JNSI* 29. ii (1967) 37-38, pl. III. i.

30. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228; fig. 183; G. Fouilles 'En Cochinchine Coades', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 10, p. 197.

31. The seal lies in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (no. 1931-A 11563). See *JNSI* 29 ii (1967) 38 and pl. III. 2.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *JNSI* 24 (1962) 181-82.

34. These are housed in the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjhar.

35. Cf., योधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापते: of the Bijaygarh inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 252.

a warrior, probably a foreigner, with long moustaches, Persian features and a conical cap, ascribable to circa the first century A.D.

Personal sealings reveal that the name-ending 'Gupta' was quite popular amongst the denizens of Sunet.<sup>36</sup> The absence of Kushāṇa coins and coin-moulds after Huvishka indicate the extirpation of the Kushāṇas by the Yaudheyas at the end of Huvishka's reign.<sup>37</sup> Sunet seems to have remained in continuous occupation till it was destroyed during of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.<sup>38</sup> The seals and sealings throw light on the Vaishṇava and Śaivite religions prevalent here and point to the place being an important commercial centre with probably cosmopolitan population. In order to get more details about the place and of the people which inhabited it, the site must be excavated.

36. E. g., *Sriguptasya*, *Sririndraguptasya*, *Sri-kri(?)guptasya*, *Sri-hari-guptasya*, etc.

37. A. S. Altekar in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, (Banaras, 1954), p. 27.

38. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

## SANGHOL STONE INSCRIPTION

By

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A fragment of a stone, measuring 8" in length by 2" in height, was discovered sometimes about 1957, from the village Sanghol, also called Uchchāpiṇḍ in Samrala Tehsil of Ludhiana District. This village is situated about half a mile off the Chandigarh-Ludhiana road, at a distance of 25 miles from Chandigarh and 34 miles from Ludhiana. Originally, the stone appears to have been much bigger. After being detatched from the original structure, it seems to have been broken up when it was put to some other use. Consequently an indefinite portion of the inscription has been broken away and lost.

The writing contains, at present, only nine letters. The characters are early Gupta or late Kuṣāṇa, and resemble the characters of the Mathura Pillar inscription of Candragupta II, dated Gupta year 61, *i.e.*, 380 A.D. The form of *m* is exactly as we find it in Candragupta's Mathura record. This type of *m* is usually met with in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, although it is customary to classify it in the Southern variety of the Gupta alphabet. However, its occurrence as far north as Mathura, and now at Sanghol, makes a reconsideration of the generally accepted classification, imperative.

The language is Sanskrit; and that is another reason for assigning the record to the early Gupta in preference to the late Kuṣāṇa age.

The inscription is too short to enable us to ascertain the object with which it was put up. Probably, some individual, who was the grandson of a person whose name is incomplete, built some work of public utility. The only importance of this record is that it shows that Sanghol was an inhabited site in the

early fourth century A.D. There is no date given in the record. On palaeographic grounds it may be assigned to *circa* 300-400 A.D.

*Text*

.....*mava-śrīka-paut[r \* ]ena bigha* .....

“by the grandson of ..... [name is incomplete ]”



**Sanghol stone inscription**



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN ORISSA

By

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[In the present paper the author gives a brief account of the antiquities as well as the ancient sites that were noticed by him in the course of his epigraphical tours during the winters of 1936-37, 1937-38 and 1938-39 in the interior parts of Orissa, mostly in the then so-called native states<sup>1</sup> of Orissa. Since the information contained in the account is of special interest to those engaged on the reconstruction of the cultural history of Orissa, it is being published here with the permission of the Director General of Archaeology in India.]

In the cold season of 1936-37, I visited a number of places of archaeological interest in the following three States in Orissa, viz., Patna, Sonepur and Bandh. Although I was chiefly in search of inscriptions, I did not leave unnoticed the other antiquities that came in my way. Of these, two mounds, one at Titilagarh and the other at Santala, both in the Patna State, deserve special mention, as a systematic excavation at these sites is likely to yield some valuable relics of the past.

### 1. Titilagarh

This is a railway station on the Raipur-Vizagapatam line of the B. N. Railway. The place was visited in 1881-82, by Cunningham who has left a description<sup>2</sup> of the main temple there, called Dhavaleśvara, which is still in use. As one approaches the temple from the villages, one sees fragments of stone images scattered on either side of the road. To the north and to the east of the Kumda (Kammundai of Cunningham) hill there are two small temples built of stone, which are desolate and contain no sculptural remains.

The mound referred to above is situated still further north among the fields and is of considerable dimensions. It is

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1. These states have since been merged in Orissa. However, since the account refers to the pre-merger times, they have been referred to as individual states that they then were.

2. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report, vol. XVII*, p. 67.

known as Devītala and contains relics of a brick temple. It is crowned by a *śālmali* tree and is covered all round by thorny bushes which make it difficult of access. I was told that large quantities of bricks had been removed by the villagers from this mound. The brick is well baked and well shaped. It measures 16" x 8" x 3". On the top of the mound, close to the *śālmali* tree, there is a slab of stone stuck erect. A considerable portion of it seems to be dug deep in the earth. The exposed part is about five feet high, two feet broad and more than half a foot thick. One face of the slab bears on its top a female figure, carved in high relief, now much corroded, only the arms and the legs being clearly seen. The lower surface is quite smooth and appears to have originally been dressed to receive an inscription. I was not permitted to unearth the slab and thereby to ascertain whether it contained any.

I was told that the name Titilagarh is a corrupt form of Tritalagadha meaning 'three-storeyed fortress', and I was shown the remains of a building right on the top of the Kumda hill, which must originally have been a sort of castle.

Beyond the Kumda hill there is a village of the same name. The hill was possibly called so because it roughly resembles in shape a *Kumda* (Sanskrit *Kuśhmāṇḍa*).

## 2. Saintala

There is a motorable road from Titilagarh to Balangir, the present headquarters of the Patna State, the distance being 42 miles. Midway lies a big village, named Saintala, reputed to have once been an important military station. This tradition is supported by the very name Saintala which appears to be a corruption of Sanskrit *Sainyasthala*. At this place I saw a large mound overgrown with dense shrubbery. It apparently entombs the ruins of a brick temple, as one sees broken bricks and stone statues lying about. On the top of the mound there is a shrine with numerous sculptures some of which are left intact and excite the admiration of the visitor through their fine execution, recalling to mind the Gupta style. They are, however, sorely neglected, though they are looked upon with awe and reverence by the villagers who offer worship to some of the idols, without caring to know what deities they represent. The site, if properly explored, is sure to yield valuable antiquities.

During the next season, *i. e.*, in 1937-38, I toured in the following eight States in Orissa: Ranpur, Nayagarh, Khandpara, Daspalla, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Athgarh and Dhenkanal. At several places I came across ancient remains of much historical interest and importance. Of certain remarkable objects I have taken photographs, too. A brief description of noteworthy sites and antiquities is given below.

### 3. Ranpur

Ranpur is the headquarters of the State of the same name. A road connects this town with Kaluparaghāt, a railway station on the B. N. Railway (Madras-Calcutta line), the distance being 14 miles. The town of Ranpur is situated at the foot of a hill called Maināka, on the top of which there is a temple known as Maṇināgā. It is believed that king Viśvāvasu, who is said to be the founder of the Ranpur State, laid a *chaka-śīla* (*chakra-śīla*) and on it installed the deity Maṇināgā, a form of Durgā, and that the present temple over it was constructed by Uddhavanarendra, a later member of the Ranpur family. Another shrine of the same deity is found at the foot of the hill on the way to the cremation grounds at Ranpur and is called, on that account, Tala-Maṇināgā, where the ruling chief sometimes goes for worship. The shrine contains an image which is so besmeared with vermillion and black unguent that I could not recognize it. The shrine is in the centre of a hall open on one side like a verandah, with a raised platform in the front reached by a flight of steps. Against the walls in the hall some fifteen sculptured slabs of stone are placed, nine of which depict an elephant procession: some women riding on the animal, a musician blowing on a horn and an umbrella-bearer running in the front and a standard-bearer at the back. The slabs vary in size as well as in theme, the largest slab measuring about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad by 1 foot high.

Inside the town, next to the Rajbati, there is the temple of Jagannātha, said to be built after the fashion of the famous temple of the same god at Puri. While the construction of the temple is ascribed to the same Uddhavanarendra as referred to above, the two huge monolith lions flanking the entrance to the temple are said to be the work of king Banamāli, reputed to be an expert in statuary. Many stone images existing in the State are believed to have been fashioned by him. According to

the tradition, the Jagannātha temple of Ranpur was built in Śaka 1407. It is a fairly big edifice with its outer walls covered with various sculptures, most of them representing amorous couples. There are also niches in the walls, wherein representations of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu are found. Besides the main temple, there are two smaller ones, one devoted to Śiva and the other to Krishṇa, within the same enclosure. In the right-hand corner of this enclosure there is a *snāna-māṇḍapa*, an elevated platform approached by a flight of steps. There are beautiful figures carved in relief on the walls of this platform.

Svapneśvara, Chāṇḍeśvara and Bālukeśvara are the names of some of the other temples as Ranpur. They are later in date and less important. The first of these is said to have been established by Chandraśekharanarendra, son of Uddhavanarendra. It has a monolith bull carved, it is believed, by the same king Banamali referred to above.

#### 4. Govindpur

Govindpur is an old village, about five miles north-east of Nayagarh, the headquarters of the Nayagarh State. There is a cluster of temples outside the village. They are said to have been built comparatively recently, but, it is alleged, there used to be temples on the same site in former times and their material has been utilized in building the present structures. The main one is dedicated to Kaurī or Kāmīkshidevī, a form of Durgā. It faces the east. On its southern wall, one of the stone slabs bears an inscription. By the side of this main temple there are four small shrines, devoted to Kedareśvara-Mahādeva, Somanātha-Mahādeva, Sāvitri and Ananta-Vāsudeva. The first of these has a fragmentary inscription incised on the top of the stone forming the left-hand jamb of its entrance. The Somanātha-Mahādeva shrine also has, I am told, a small inscription appearing on the wall behind the *liṅga* inside the sanctuary, but the wall has been plastered over with cement covering the epigraph. The Ananta-Vāsudeva shrine has no stone building as the other shrines of this site have, but it is a mud house with a thatched roof. The images inside are decidedly old and one of them represents Garuḍa. There is also a *vāpi* (square well) near this group of temples, which has high stone walls and steps leading down to the water. A stone *āmalaka*, broken into two, is lying outside the Ananta-Vāsudeva

shrine, which shows the previous existence of a stone temple at the site which is now occupied by that shrine.

At a little distance to the west of these temples, I was shown a place where, I am told, some years back, a number of gold coins and ornaments were dug out. No trace of them is now to be found. It is also said that there was a fort at Govindpur, but no remains of it are visible there, now.

### 5. Kantilo

On the right bank of the Mahānadi lies the important village of Kantilo, some 9 miles to the north of Khandpara, the headquarters of the Khandpara State. At this place there is a famous temple called Nīla-Mādhava. It is situated on a high rock touching the waters of the Mahānadi. It is reputed to be a replica of the well-known temple of Jagannātha at Puri with this difference that the deity in the main shrine here is called Nīla-Mādhava and not Jagannātha. The temple buildings are approached by four gates facing the cardinal points, each with a long flight of steps. That on the north leads down to the waters of the Mahānadi. The main gate is the eastern one where there is the *dhvajastambha*. All the shrines face the east. The second important shrine which is on the left or to the north of the Nīla-Mādhava is that of Jagannātha. In the niches of its outer walls are found various figures, some of which represent different incarnations of Vishṇu. Behind these two, there are four smaller shrines, in one row, of Lakshmī, Rādhā-Krishṇa, Sarasvatī and Vimalā. On the right or to the east of the main temple is the shrine of Mahādeva. At the back of all these, in the western corner, there is a recent addition of a Hanumān temple.

The Nīla-Mādhava temple is traditionally known to be contemporaneous with the Jagannātha temple of Puri. The statues in the niches exhibit three different varieties of stone: sandstone with red spots, black granite and greyish green soapstone.

### 6. Nuagan

The village of Nuagan is about six miles west of Narsinghpur, the headquarters of the Narsinghpur State. There are ruins of an ancient temple here. The main shrine is still standing in half-dilapidated condition. It is known by the name of Muktanātha. The *sikhara* of the temple is built of bricks, though the *kalaśa* or

*āmalaka* may have been built of stone, as two pieces of stone are still seen on the top. Some of the bricks show ornamental designs on them. The brick measures  $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ . The body of the temple is built of stone. The door-jambs and the frieze of the entrance are profusely sculptured. The lintel has figures of the *nava-grahas*, below which is carved an image of Gaja-Lakshmi. The temple faces the east. In niches outside in the northern and western walls there are figures of Vishnu and in the southern wall that of Ganeśa. In front of the temple the villagers have constructed a thatched *maṇḍapa*, wherein lie two stone *nandis*. Inside the temple is the *liṅga*, the god Muktanātha. In the compound are scattered numerous sculptured pieces, lion-heads, *āmalakas*, etc. In the close vicinity, there are small mounds with remains of bricks on the surface. From the style of the sculptures and the general condition of the building, I think, the temple is fairly old and may belong to the 9th century A.D. A systematic digging at the site may bring forth some valuable antiquities.

### 7. Champeshwar

The village of Champeshwar is about six miles south-east of Narsinghpur. Outside the village there is a group of temples, the main one being called Champānāth. It faces the west, where there is also an extensive tank close by. Behind the main temple there are about eight small shrines, each with a *liṅga* inside. Besides, there are some sculptures of other gods and goddesses in these shrines, which seem to have been brought from elsewhere and placed there. In front of the main shrine, under the same low roof, there is a *maṇḍapa* in which a number of sculptured stone slabs are arranged in niches, the most prominent being that of Hara-Gauri. It must have been a fine piece of sculpture in black stone, though I could not obtain a full view of it, partly because all these statues have been put in a very dark place and partly because they have been coated with vermillion and soot.

The Champānāth temple is dedicated both to Vishnu and Śiva and the god worshipped inside the main shrine is, on that account, also called Hari-Hara. Even the symbol on the *sikhara* is a combination of a *chakra* and a *trishula*. The temple seems to belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. There are some broken statues lying about the smaller shrines, some of which

represent Gaṇeśa. Some of the outer shrines are partly built of brick. The brick measures 13" x 9" x  $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". Brick must have been used in all the buildings of this group of temples, but as the walls are thickly whitewashed, bricks are seen only where the plaster has fallen off.

### 8. Gopalpur

Going south-south-east from Champeshwar at a distance of two miles one comes to the village Kanpur. A mile and a half west of this place, is the village Gopalpur on the bank of a stream of the Mahānadi. A little above Gopalpur two streams part from the main current of the river Mahānadi and join it again at a short distance below, forming thereby two islets in between. On the one nearest to Gopalpur is situated the village of Podamal and on the other islet is the hill called Bāneśvara with extensive ruins of temples and other buildings. At Gopalpur there is a recently built temple called Rūpanāth. Outside the temple, against its walls, are placed some broken statues which seem quite old and are said to have been picked up from the bed of the stream flowing by. On one of these broken pieces one sees the image of the Buddha or a Bodhisattva, flanked by gods, with heavenly musicians hovering above. There are other pieces of evidence for the prevalence of Buddhism in olden days in this part of the country.

### 9. Podamal

Crossing the stream one comes to Podamal. There are ruins of a temple in this village, but over them new huts have sprung up. People have used the pieces of stone, which they found on the surface, in building their own dwellings. In the steps of a house I saw a fragment of sculptured stone showing a seated deer on the left and a wheel in front of it. I suppose, there have been a similar deer on the other side of the wheel in the original sculpture and the stone must have been a part of the pedestal of an image of the Buddha, the deer and the wheel symbolizing the first sermon of the Lord Buddha in the Mrigadāva at Rīśipatana. This is an additional evidence of Buddhism formerly prevailing in this locality. I was also shown a mound in one corner of this hamlet of Podamal. Some broken and crumbling bricks were all I could see on the surface. The mound may have the relics of some ancient building hidden beneath it.

## 10. Baneshwar Hill

Going further south crossing the second stream one lands on the second islet with no village on it but only a hill, all covered with thick jungle. I have been told that when the water of the stream decreases, some wooden poles are seen stuck in a row in the bed of the stream across it, which indicates that there used to be a sort of bridge over the stream at one time. It is also told that the other stream which now separates Gopalpur and Podamal did not exist some years back. Just as one steps on the other shore of the stream at the foot of the Baneshwar hill one sees a broken stone image half buried in the sand under a tree. It is worshipped by the villagers and boatmen. It is however, disfigured beyond recognition. As one climbs the hill for going to the ruined Śiva temples where a priest comes once daily from Podamal and does *pūjā*, one sees brick ruins here and there. After going up some half a mile one comes to the spot, about midway of the height of the hill, where there are two Śiva temples in ruins. The *sikharas* are no more. Only parts of the stone walls are still standing and they, too, are partly under the debris. On the main temple the villagers have constructed a thatched roof. The *linga* and the *sakti* (i.e., *yoni-patta*) in both the temples are of very fine grey stone, those of the main temple being much bigger in size. Most of the broken images have been placed on either side of the entrance to the main temple. Important among these is a beautiful female image, which is almost entire, the forearms alone being broken off and missing. It is carved on a slab of hard red sandstone. It measures about three feet in height and two feet in width. It is worshipped as Lakshmi, but to me it appears to represent some Buddhist deity, may be Tārā, Chāmuṇḍā or Prajñāpāramitā, as indicated by the book on the blown lotus above the left shoulder of the figure. Above this main deity are shown heavenly beings in worshipful attitude and below her are dancers, musicians and worshippers. A similar sculptured slab, with finer artistry, was discovered by Mr. K. G. Gupta (the then Commissioner of Orissa) in 1902 at the foot of the Baneshwar hill. It is described in *Bengal Gazetteers*, Vol. XXI, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, 1910, pp. 32-33. I understand that it has found its way to the British Museum, London, where some more sculptures of this very site are also said to be deposited, among which there may also be the forearms of the figure described above. (The existing figure also finds mention in the *Gazetteer*.) Against the southern wall of the bigger temple are placed some broken statues representing Nāgi, lions,

āmalakas, etc. The niche in the southern wall contains an image of Gaṇeśa, and that in the northern wall Kubera; the image of the niche in the western wall is now missing. As one stands at the door of the temple facing the east, one gets a clear view of the Nīla-Mādhava temple on one's right and can see the Bhaṭṭārikā temple on one's left, in the distance. The former is at Kantilo in the Khandhara State, as described above, whereas the latter is in the Baramba State, as described below. In the jungle surrounding the two temples of the Baneshwar hill are also found broken stone sculptures. The site requires a thorough exploration which is possible only after the thicket around it has been cleared away. I believe that the name Bāṇeśvara must originally have applied to the main Śiva temple at this site, though now it is locally known as Pudugeśvara or Padmeśvara, while the smaller temple is called Svapneśvara.

### 11. Siṁhanātha

The temple of Siṁhanātha is situated on an islet in the Mahānadi, a little below the village of Gopinathapur, about 5 miles south-east of Baramba, the headquarters of the Baramba State. The main temple is surrounded by as many as thirteen small shrines. The walls and the *sikhara* of the chief building are profusely decorated with various sculptures representing deities like Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu as well as scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*. Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear on the door-jamb and Gaja-Lakshmi on the lintel. There are also figures of *dvārapālas* at the entrance. The buildings and the statues here are all in good condition and worship is being done regularly.

### 12. Bhaṭṭārikā

The temple of Bhaṭṭārikā is situated on the northern bank of the Mahānadi. The nearest village is Sasang, about 6 miles south-west of Baramba. Besides the main temple of Bhaṭṭārikā, there are two smaller ones at the same site, one of which is devoted to Śiva known as So-nanātha. A *sati*-stone is stuck erect in the centre of the pavement of the compound.

Remarkable are two beautifully sculptured slabs of stone here which I saw placed in a corner by the side of one of the subsidiary shrines. The sculptures represent some deities which are

worshipped by the village folk under queer names. The village people are also responsible for disfiguring the images with vermillion and oil. I was permitted to have them cleaned and photographed. The figures are partly damaged, but even in their mutilated condition they inspire one with admiration for their fine workmanship. The smaller slab contains a representation of Indra riding on his elephant Airāvata, while the bigger slab shows an image of Śiva as Naṭarāja with eight arms. One of its right hands, which is intact, holds a *damaru*.

A striking feature of this last sculpture is that Śiva is represented here with *urdhva-liṅga*, while the *Nandi* is shown as thrusting his neck from behind in between Śiva's legs and licking the latter's *testes* with its protruding tongue. The figure is unique in this respect, and it will be of great interest to trace the corresponding iconographical details in the *āgamas*.

### 13. Kandarpur

There is a partly ruined Śiva temple on an islet in the Mahānadi, near the village of Kandarpur, about five miles south of Athgarh, the headquarters of the Athgarh State. The temple faces the west and it is perhaps on this account that it is known as Paścimeśvara. But one of the two short epigraphs appearing on the panels of its *śikhara* shows that the temple must originally have been called *Vicitravaradeva*, indicating also the name of its founder *Vicitrakrishṇa* which is contained in the second epigraph, but about whom nothing further is known. On the evidence of the script used, the temple belongs to about the 9th century A.D. The frontage of the temple is all shattered. Numerous slabs of stone fallen from the building are lying about scattered. Inside the temple are two stone *nandis* and two other statues, one of Narasiṁha and the other of a dancing Śiva. In the northern niche outside the temple is found a figure of Pārvati with a bull, and not a lion, seated below. The eastern niche, on the back of the temple, contains a Narasiṁha image. The southern niche is broken. The panels on the *śikhara* are carved with floral designs, some of them left unfinished.

### 14. Pāṇḍava-Bakkhara

Pāṇḍava Bakkhara (*bakkhara* meaning 'room') is the name of a cave or a recess, partly natural and partly artificially excavated, on a hill right in the heart of a thick jungle, about two miles north-east of the village Kandarpur. The cave is

partitioned into two compartments, each serving as a bed or place for sleeping. Patches of plaster are visible against the walls, which shows that were they originally coated with *chunam*. There must originally have been also a sort of door to the cave, as the square holes in the outer four corners would indicate. Each of the partitions of the cave contains on the wall a line of inscription in the characters of about the 9th century A.D. The one on the right-hand side reads *Śrī-Vichittrakrishnaṇasya* and that on the left hand side reads *Śrī Vichittrakrishnaṇadeva*. It will be seen that the former is the name of the same individual whom we have supposed to be the founder of the Śiva temple now known as Paścimeśvara referred to above, while the latter is also evidently identical with the god *Vicitreśvaradeva* mentioned in one of the two short inscriptions of the Paścimeśvara temple. As one stands at the cave, one would get a clear view of the temple in the distance, were there no trees in the front. From this it appears that the individual, named Vichittrakrishna, may be an ascetic or a chief turned ascetic, used to reside in one part of the cave, while in the other he kept his deity to whose honour he had built a temple in the islet of the Mahānādi, of which also he could always obtain a distant view without moving down from the hill.

### 15. Dhavaleśvara

The temple of Dhavaleśvara is on another islet in the Mahānādi, near the village Mancheshwar, about 12 miles east of Athgarh. The present temple is comparatively modern and is famous in the State. It also faces the west. The niches in its outer walls, which are thickly white-washed, contain statues which appear much older. To the east of this modern temple are extensive ruins of an old temple. Many stones have been removed from this site and utilized in the modern building. The broken statues and sculptured slabs which were discovered in the course of digging are now placed in groups against the walls of the present temple.

On the western extreme of the islet, almost touching the river-water, there is a small Śiva temple called Viśveśvara. This is also a recent one, but it contains eight old statues (Indra, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Viṣhṇu, etc.) fixed in its outer walls.

In the village Mancheshwar itself there is also a new Śiva temple known as Mañcheśvara. This, too, has some statues which perhaps belonged originally to the old temple, now in ruins, to the east of the present Dhavaleśvara temple on the islet close by.

#### 16. Kapilas

Kapilas is a place of pilgrimage of renown, about sixteen miles east of Dhenkanal, the headquarters of the Dhenkanal State. It is on a high hill surrounded by dense forest. There is a Śiva temple there, called Śikhareśvara which is popularly said to be the same as mentioned in the *Kapilasamhitā* : *virājaikāmrayor-madhye tatrāste Śikhareśvaraḥ*. The present temple does not appear to be very old, and may be of the 13th or 14th century A. D. There is a perennial spring flowing in front of the temple which faces the east. Besides the chief temple, there are smaller shrines of Durgā, Śiva-Vridhheśvara, Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, etc. A few short inscriptions in Oriya script are found on some stones, but they are sorely damaged and illegible.

#### 17. Nāgana

Nāgana is a small village on the right bank of the Brahmani river, about nine miles north of Dhenkanal. It has a Śiva temple called Nāganātheśvara, which looks even more recent than the Śikhareśvara temple of Kapilas. The sculptures here are not very elaborate. In the outer walls of the temple are found, enshrined in niches, images of Pārvatī in the north, Gaṇeśa in the south and Kārttikeśvara in the west.

To the west of the temple, outside the village, under a tall tamarind tree, are found three sculptured slabs, of which the central one, with a standing Gaṇeśa image, is a fine piece of art and looks much older. The slab on the right shows a figure of Varāha which is worshipped by the villagers as the village deity under the name of Nāgani. The slab on the left has a nāga carved on it.

#### 18. Kualo

The village of Kualo is within the Dhenkanal State and is over sixteen miles north-west of the headquarters. It is however only about four miles south of Talcher, the headquarters of

the Talcher State. It is a fairly big village reputed to be of great antiquity, which is testified to by a group of temples, all in deplorably ruinous condition, outside the village, near a large tank. Stone images and sculptured slabs, badly corroded and weather-worn, are lying pell-mell in the compound. Though worship is still offered in some of the shrines, they are, on the whole, neglected and call for conservation. The group comprises eight temples. The principal one, a Śiva temple called Kanakeśvara, is dilapidated and overgrown with thick vegetation. Behind this main edifice, to its left, is another Śiva temple called Vaidyanātha which shows a profusion of ornamentation in stone, while, to its right is the shrine of Paśchimeśvara. In front of the main temple is the shrine of Kanakeśvari. Between these two are four more temples. The names of three of them are Kapileśvara, Svapneśvara and Bālakesvara; the fourth one, being totally ruined, has lost its name to the villagers. If systematic excavation is done on this site, many fine sculptures and other antiquities may come to light.

During my tour in the winter of 1938-39, I visited some places of antiquarian interest in the States of Kalahandi and Keonjhar in Orissa. As usual, I was mainly in quest of inscriptions, of which I found quite an appreciable number. Besides, I came across ruined temples, broken images and other objects archaeologically deserving of notice. Of some of them I took photographs, too.

#### 19. Junagarh (Kalahandi State)

The village of Junagarh is about 16 miles from Bhawanipatna, the headquarters of the Kalahandi State. There are all told ten temples there, dedicated to various deities such as Śiva, Vishṇu, Rāma, Krishṇa, Durgā etc., under the designations of Nilakaṇṭheśvara, Rāmasvāmi, Bālāji, Gopinātha, Kanakaduīgā, Laṅkesvari, Budharāja (Bhairava), Dadhivāmana, Someśvara and Pātāleśvara. In front of the first-named temple, there is also a *sati*-stone. All the temples, except the last two, are comparatively of recent origin, built by the rulers of the Nāgavarmi family to which the present ruling chief also belongs. The temples of Someśvara and Pātāleśvara are believed to be more ancient, having been erected by the predecessors of the Nāgavarmi chiefs, namely by some princes of the Gaṅga dynasty. Their style as well as the present secluded position amply bears out this tradition. They stand side by

side close to a tank outside the village. They are in a state of fairly good preservation, though deserted and neglected. They ought to be protected from the encroaching vegetation which is striking root and causing cracks in their walls and tops.

The image of the goddess Lañkeśvari, being partly damaged, has been discarded and left under a date-palm tree, near the rivulet Hathi, at about a mile's distance from the present Lañkeśvari temple.

Not far from this temple, to the south, there is another tank close to which are scattered some broken and weatherworn images. The biggest one is known as Bhairava. It has four hands, of which the right back one holds a *damaru* and the left back one a *trisūla*. It stands about 4' high and is of spotted grey sandstone.

#### 20. Asurgadh (Kalahandi State)

Asurgadh is a small village, about two miles from the Rupra Road railway station on the Raipur-Vizagapatam section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. There are two large tanks here, called Rādhāsāgara and Udayasāgara. The place, as its name indicates, had a fort in olden days, which is now completely ruined. Its crumbled mud walls are covered with grass, shrubbery and trees. The wall is intercepted by four openings, at cardinal points, which mark the position of the four gates built of bricks. They are now razed to the ground. The bricks have been removed by the villagers. Still, from under the debris one can get some remains of them. The bricks are fairly large-sized, measuring 12" x 12" x 3". Nobody in the State could tell me the history, traditional or otherwise, of the fort.

#### 21. Dehili (Kalahandi State)

The hamlet of Dehili is about a mile further up from Asurgadh. By the side of the road near the village, one sees the remains of a ruined stone temple, partly heaped up and partly lying pell-mell under the trees. Among them are found broken stone slabs, pillars, door-jambs and images. One of the slabs has a lotus carved on it, while an image may be identified as that of Vishnu, though it is damaged and weather-beaten beyond recognition. There is a tank nearby, at this place as well.

### 22. Narla (Kalahandi State)

Narla is a fairly big village about two miles from Dehili and five miles from the Rupra Road railway station. There is an old Śiva temple here, called Balabhadreśvara-Mahādeva. It is as modest in size as simple in construction, there being no ornamental carvings worth the name. It is gradually sinking in the ground. A few broken sculptures are found resting against the temple walls. On two slabs of stone in the wall, to the proper right of the entrance, is engraved an inscription which is sorely damaged and cannot be read completely. Its extant portion discloses the names of a chief and his consort in such terms as *Paramamaheśvara* ..... *Mahānandalika* ..... *Śrī-Harirājā* ..... *Śrī-Remaka-mahādevyā* ..... Evidently this Harirāja was responsible for the construction of the temple, but nothing is known of this chief. The characters of the inscription belong to the Nagari alphabet of about the thirteenth century A. D., which must also be the date of the shrine.

### 23. Omat (Kalahandi State)

Omat or Amath is a village on the bank of the Tel river, about nine miles north of the Kasinga railway station on the Raipur-Vizagapatam section of the Bengal-Nagpur railway. Not far from this village, on the slope of the Chandri hill, right in the heart of a thick forest infested with wild animals, there are ruins of ancient temples or a temple and some other buildings. Very large bricks are found scattered or buried over an extensive area. The size of the bricks is 14" x 14" x 3". I could see only one stone there, which seemed to be a part of a *yonipatṭa*. I was told that there used to be a stone *Śiva-liṅga* also, but that it had been removed by a man of the village Utikela. The villagers believe that, on this site, there was once a fort. I did not, however, find any relic of it. The remains found there indicate the former existence of a Śiva temple and certain other shrines or houses in the vicinity. The site requires a thorough exploration which is not possible unless the overgrowing thicket is cleared away,

### 24. Belkhandi (Kalahandi State)

The village of Belkhandi is about a mile from the confluence of the Tel and Utte rivers. Just at the confluence there exists a group of three temples. The principal one is called Dhavaleśvara,

and it faces the east. The second is a smaller temple known as Kapileśvara and faces the west, while the third is a shrine of Chāṇḍī which faces the north. All these are new structures but the site is undoubtedly an old one. There are numerous damaged and defaced sculptured stones lying about in the neighbourhood. There are also many plain stone slabs, which appear to be the remains of some ancient buildings. Among the damaged statues I could recognize few. A sculpture representing Hara-Gauri is a beautiful piece. Another depicts Bhairava, while in another the same is shown in the dancing attitude. Some of the images represent also Gaṇeśa, Viśhṇu, Lakshmi, etc. The site is known as *Deulmuhan*, which means 'temple at the confluence.' Considering the much eroded condition, the dignified style and the great wealth of the sculptures, the site appears to be a pretty old and important one. Taking the Hara-Gauri figures as a typical example, we may place these antiquities in the ninth century A. D. Although the place is considered to be of great religious merit, all tradition to its history has been lost.

## 25. Mohangiri (Kalahandi State)

The village of Mohangiri is included in the Madanpur-Rampur Zamindari within the Kalahandi State, and is about 53 miles, by the shortest route, from the headquarters of the State. A little over one mile due east of Mohangiri there is a big heap of ruins of some stone temples on the left bank of a rivulet called Kaligaṅgā. Their existence was brought to notice, somewhere in 1933, by the head constable of Mohangiri Police Outpost who discovered them accidentally. At that time the ruins had remained buried, forming a mound overgrown with all sorts of trees and shrubs, thus having the appearance of a natural hillock. Since their discovery, they have, for the most part, been laid bare and worship is conducted now in the dilapidated shrines. Formerly, there was no habitation near the mound, but now some huts have sprung up at the site, wherein dwell the temple priests and a small number of villagers. The site goes under the name of Deulsulia, while to the main temple with a *Siva-linga* in its *sanctum sanctorum* the villagers have given the name of Dhavaleśvara. This temple faces the east, with the Kaligaṅgā flowing in front of it from south-east to north-west. There must have been a sort of bathing ghat or a flight of steps at the bank of the rivulet near the temples, as is usually found at such places, but I could not find any trace of such a construction there. Considering

the propinquity of the stream and the mass of ruins, the group of temples here must have been a religious centre of considerable renown, but unfortunately nothing of its ancient history is known at present.

From the remains, one can make out that there used to be a *maṇḍapa* in front of the *sanctum sanctorum*, of which the two rows of pillars, eight in number, are still standing in their original position. Some stone slabs of the roof as well as the Śiva-linga are likewise intact. On either side of the *maṇḍapa* is a figure of a lion, while images of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya flank the entrance to the inner shrine. Over this a thatched roof has been built now. There is a big tank on the southern side where there are also heaps of stone slabs, some of which are sculptured. As fragments of three *āmalakas* can be seen among the ruins, it is apparent that there were some secondary shrines around the main temple.

Two of the pillars and one slab in the pavement of the *maṇḍapa* bear short inscriptions which are, however, much damaged. They contain names of some persons, but nothing about the temple. One of the names reads *hadairava*. The character of the inscription is Nāgari of about the 12th century A. D. This must also be the approximate date of the temples of this site. The letters of one of the pillar inscriptions are much bigger in size and are ornamentally treated. A similar short inscription is found also on the wall of a shrine among the ruins of the Maṇikeśvara temple at the village of Shukleshwar in the Cuttack district.

Some other slabs in the pavement of the *maṇḍapa* contain two diagrams of some sedentary games engraved on them.

## 26. Keonjhargarh (Keonjhar State)

Keonjhargarh, the headquarters of the Keonjhar State, is about seventy-two miles from the Jajpur Road railway station on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. There are no ancient relics at the place. The State treasury, however, possesses a small round copper box containing 195 silver coins of the Mughal period. This box is reported to have been discovered by an inhabitant of the village of Tukudiha in a mango-grove on the 31st July 1927 after the subsiding of the flood in the Baitarni river. I learnt that the younger brother of the Ruling Chief has, in his possession, some Kushāṇa coins as well as an inscribed piece of stone, but since he was away when I was there, I had no opportunity to inspect these antiquities.

### 27. Danguapasi (Keonjhar State)

The village of Danguapasi or Dengaposi is some forty miles from Keonjhargarh. The locality abounds in huge rocks and rank vegetation. Two gigantic boulders, placed one above the other, go under the name of Rāvaṇachhāyā. The upper one projects forward on one side to an extent of about twenty feet, forming thereby a shelter. Its ceiling is painted in fresco, the scene representing what appears to be a royal procession: some five footmen running in front, followed by a horseman, and behind him a personage on the back of an elephant, and a runner in the rear. At the bottom is painted a line of writing which is, for the most part obliterated. The paint, on the whole, is of deep red or madder colour, though in depicting the lips, belts, etc. some other dyes have as well been employed. The painting has been very much spoilt by the rain-water flushing inwards from the projected edge through over a thousand and five hundred years. The ceiling is more or less thirty feet above the ground, and owing to the numerous boulders strewn about below, it was not possible to erect an adequate scaffolding. Consequently a close examination either of the painting or the writing could not be made. The extant portion of the inscription, however, seems to read *mahārāja-śri-Diśabhaṇja*. It is, thus, evident that the scene painted over the inscription represents a procession or an expedition of this king Diśabhaṇji. He was plainly a member of the Bhaṇja dynasty of Orissa, but he cannot be identical either with Digbhaṇja, son of Koṭṭabhaṇja, of the Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa branch, or with Digbhaṇja son of Nettabhaṇja, of the Khiñjalimāṇḍala branch, because the approximate date of the two Digbhaṇjas is not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D., while the painted inscription is written in the characters of about the 4th century A.D. King Disabhaṇja may have lived still earlier, but even if we take the painted inscription as a contemporary record of him, his date cannot be later than the 4th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds.

Close to the Rāvaṇachhāyā rocks there are a few small mounds overgrown with bushes and trees, concealing brick remains underneath. Excavation at this site is sure to bring to light relics of very ancient times.

### 28. Sitabinji (Keonjhar State)

A little further off from the Rāvaṇachhāyā site, nearer to the village of Sitabinji or Sitabhanji, where the road dissolves in the jungle,

there are numerous small boulders half buried in the earth. Several of them contain short inscriptions engraved on them. Their letters are ornamentally treated. They seem to be pilgrims' records. Palaeographically, they seem to be considerably later than the Rāvaṇachhāyā inscription. Their language is Prakrit. The names mentioned in them appear to be those of certain Śaiva ascetics, from which it may be inferred that the site must once have been a holy place sacred to Śiva. This is confirmed by the discovery of a *mukha-līṅga*, *i.e.*, a stone Śiva-līṅga with four faces, lying against a huge rock in the vicinity. There are brick remains also at this place. At a little distance from here, in the hills, there is a cluster of very big rocks. Some of them form natural shelters, each spacious enough to accommodate twenty to thirty persons. It is very likely that they were once actually used as sheds by pilgrims and ascetics.

The sites of Rāvaṇachhāyā and Sitabinji are so close to each other that they can be regarded as one. The existence of their antiquities was first brought to notice by Pandit Binayak Misra and Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, who have jointly contributed an illustrated article on them in the *Modern Review*, March 1938, pp. 301-305.

### 29. Anandpur (Keonjhar State)

Anandpur, the headquarters of a subdivision of that name in the Keonjhar State, is situated on both sides of the river Baitarni. In the north-east end of the village, in a mango grove, there is a Śiva temple called Uttareśvara-Mahādeva. It is a modern construction, but there are some images of much older origin. A conspicuous one is that of Buddhist origin, now placed in the niche of the outer wall in the west. It is slightly damaged. It possibly represents Mañjuśrī. It is shown seated on a lotus-seat, with the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left holding a lotus flower.

### 30. Siadimalia (Keonjhar State)

About one mile west of the Uttareśvara temple, right in the heart of a thick forest frequented by elephants, is a heap of brick remains. The site is known as Siadimalia. There are two stone sculptures worshipped by the śabaras of the village. One is a broken image of Durgā, now known as Dhanai Thakurani, while the other shows a naked standing male figure

in the centre, flanked by worshippers and attendants, the central figure representing a Jain *tīrthāṅkara*. The śabara who guided me to that place said that the king Lalāṭendukesari had built here a fort and erected a temple therein. The images found in the jungle are, according to him, remains of that temple. The villagers even point to a moat nearby which surrounded the fort. But the relics found here are not very extensive.

### 31. Deogaon (Keonjhar State)

The village of Deogaon is in the Anandpur subdivision of the Keonjhar State and is six miles south of Anandpur. There is a Śiva temple here, called Kuśaleśvara-Mahādeva. The existing buildings are comparatively recent, but the images, most of which are fixed in the niches in the inner walls and are partly damaged, are pretty old. They represent Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Kārttikeya, Durgā, etc. There are numerous small nandi images in the compound.

The village is situated on the bank of the river Kuśi (Kuśabhadrā), having a stone embankment about two furlongs in length with one *ghat* which is said to have been constructed within the last century.

### 32. Ganpur (Keonjhar State)

Ganpur is a deserted village, fifteen miles south of Anandpur. There is a crude small female figure enshrined in a niche cut in a block of stone lying in a grove outside the village. Over the figure is engraved the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dharma*, etc., testifying to the former prevalence of Buddhism in this region.

While proceeding on my tour in some of the States in Orissa during the winter of 1938-39, I visited about thirty villages in the districts of Kistna and West Godavari in the Madras Presidency and of Cuttack in the Orissa Province. During this tour also I came across various ancient monuments, the notable ones of which are noticed below.

### 33. Kaikalur (Kistna District)

Kaikalur, the headquarters of the *taluk* of that name, is a small village. There is a temple here, dedicated to God Veṅkateśvara.

It is still in use, though it is partly ruined. According to a bilingual (Sanskrit-Telugu) inscription on a stone pillar lying within its compound, it was built early in the seventeenth century A.D.

### 34. Kolletikota (Kistna District)

Kolletikota is the name of an islet in the Kollair lake, within the Kaikalur *taluk*, some 12 miles from the village of Kaikalur. The islet comprises five *bastis*: Gokarnesvarapuram, Lachhmipuram, Pandarpalligudam, Gummallapadu and Sringarapadu. The first-named basti has an old Śiva temple called Jaladurga-*Gokarṇeśvara* or simply *Gokarṇeśvarasvāmi*. It is constructed of red stone. The main shrine is still standing and worship is offered there. It had a *maṇḍapa* before it, but that is completely ruined now. A number of stone pillars, some of them bearing ornamental carvings which must originally have supported the *maṇḍapa*, are lying scattered in front of the shrine. Four stone slabs, also lying about in the vicinity, contain two human figures each. These eight figures represent the eight *dikpālas*, each on his respective *vāhana*.

A figure of Gajalakshmi is sculptured on the architrave over the entrance to the fane. Inside it is a very big Śiva-*linga* of white marble. The *linga* and the *yonipatṭa* bear Telugu inscriptions which are partly defaced. One of them bears the date Śaka 1134 and the other Śaka 1175 both recording certain gifts to the temple. It thus belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. It deserves to be properly conserved.

At Lachhmipuram there is a temple of Peḍdimtamma (Jyeshṭhā), which is very recent. In front of it there are small mounds and remains of walls of what is known to be a fort. It is said that the ruins yielded some antiquities, a few of which are kept in the afore-mentioned temple. The most conspicuous one is a bronze image. It represents a four-armed deity standing on a pedestal. Its arms are broken away from the elbows downwards. The pedestal is 11" high and the image 26", the total height of the bronze being 37 inches. Some sculptured pieces of stone have also been collected from the ruins. One of them represents the figures of Hara-Gauri with a *nandi* behind,

### 35. Singarayapalem (Kistna District )

Singarayapalem is also in the Kaikalur *taluk* and is about 17 miles from Kaikalur. There is a Vishṇu temple here, called Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmi. It has a *mandapa* in front of it. One of the pillars in the *mandapa* bears some inscriptions. The earliest one belongs to the 13th or 14th century A. D. and recording a gift to the god Nṛasimhanātha by a chief named Suranedu who bore the titles *Gaṇḍagopāla* and *Cholarājyasthāpanāchārya*. From this it appears that the temple is earlier than the 13th century.

### 36. Bhimavaram (W. Godavari District)

Bhimavaram, the headquarters of the *taluk* of the same name, is a prosperous town. There are several temples here, but only one is of some antiquity. It is a modes structure, now coated partly with cement and partly with chunam. In its compound are lying some stone images. One of them represents Vishṇu. It is about five feet high. It has four arms. In its back right hand it holds a *chakra*, while its front right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. It carries a *śaṅkha* in its left back hand and a *gadā* in its front left hand. Two of the statues are known to be representations of Dattātreya. One is about five feet high the other about four feet. They are now fixed in two niches in front of the main shrine. They are three-faced and four-armed figures. A *pāśa*, an *akshamālā*, a *kamāṇḍalu* and a *pustaka* are seen, respectively, in their back right, front right, back left and front left hands.

### 37. Gunupudi (W. Godavari District)

Gunupudi is a village, less than a mile from Bhimavaram. There is an ancient Śiva temple here, known as Someśvarasvāmi. The *Śiva-liṅga* in the main shrine is of white marble. In the *mandapa* before the shrine are two *nandi* images. There are several subsidiary shrines in the compound, devoted to various deities such as Janārdana-svāmi (Vishṇu), Kumārasvāmi, Āñjaneyasvāmi (Hanumān), Subrahmanyasvāmi, Sūrya, etc. Besides, there are some images lying scattered within the compound.

I copied three inscriptions here. One of them is believed to pertain to Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkanda.

### 38. Dumpagadapa (W. Godavari District)

The village of Dumpagadapa is about fourteen miles from Bhimavaram. There is an old deserted brick temple with a standing stone image inside it, called Varadarājasvāmi (Vishṇu). Round about are scattered a number of small statues which are not of much artistic beauty. Among the scattered pieces are also four granite pillars, which are remnants of the *maṇḍapa* which originally existed in front of the main shrine. The pillars are square at the top and the bottom and are hexagonal in the middle. One of them bears an inscription which, being dated Śaka 1078, is the earliest of the Telugu inscriptions copied by me during the present tour. The temple is utterly neglected. It is overgrown with grass and shrubs, while its compound is used for cultivation. It is badly in need of conservation.

### 39. Viravasaram (W. Godavari District)

Viravasaram is about eight miles from Bhimavaram. There are two temples here, of which one is comparatively recent and the other fairly old. The first is called Sitārāmasvāmi, while the other is known as Viśveśvarasvāmi. The latter has also four secondary shrines by its side, called Gopālasvāmi, Vireśvarasvāmi or Virabhadra, Bhadrakāli and Kanakadurgā. The nandi pillar in front of the temple contains some inscriptions, dated Śaka 1213 and 1214, recording gifts to the temple by some Reddis.

### 40. Rayakuduru (W. Godavari District)

Rayakuduru is about thirteen miles from Bhimavaram. There is also an old brick temple here called Mūleśvarasvāmi. There are four stone images lying outside the temple representing Gaṇeśa, Dattātreya(?), an unidentified female deity and Mahiśāsuramardini. The doorjambs of the temple contain some inscriptions. Those on the right hand side are completely rubbed off, while those on the left are fairly well preserved. They are dated Śaka 1078 and 1083, testifying to the antiquity of the temple.

### 41. Lakshmaneswaram (W. Godavari District)

Lakshmaneswaram is in the Narsapur *taluk* and is about five miles from the town of Narsapur. There is an old temple here, Lakshmaṇeśvarasvāmi, with a lofty *gopuram*. One of the pillars in its *maṇḍapa* bears inscriptions, dated Śaka 1365. Behind the main temple are two small shrines, one dedicated to

Subrahmanyasvāmi, and the other to Durgā. The former is a very recent structure, while the latter is an old one.

#### 42. Chintaparru (W. Godavari District)

The village of Chintaparru, in the Narsapur *taluk*, is about one mile from the Lankalakoderu railway station on the Nidadavolu-Narsapur branch of the M. & S. M. Rly. About five months prior to my visit there, a villager named Somarazu had dug out some stone sculptures from an old site near that village. Two of them are seated statues of black stone, representing some Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* (?). One is about 3 feet high and the other about 2 feet. They are well polished figures, though their style is rather rigid. The bigger statue has its nose slightly damaged. A crudely shaped *yonipatṭa* with three lion figures carved on one of its sides was also unearthed at the same site. The bigger *tīrthaṅkara* figure is now placed on the *yonipatṭa*. These antiquities are now worshipped by the villagers who give the statues some fancy names. They have erected a bamboo shed over the deities.

#### 43. Chowduar (Cuttack District)

The extensive ruins of Chowduar are well known. The site requires a thorough exploration by experts. Numerous beautiful images and other antiquities have been removed from here by unauthorised individuals. Still there are many hidden or buried among the ruins overgrown with rank vegetation. Among such remains is the Budhalingesvara temple, where I copied some inscriptions. One side of its outer wall is partly exposed where, in a niche, is enshrined a statue of exquisite beauty. It is partly damaged. It is surmised that the walls on the other sides may have similar niches with similar images in them. That can be ascertained only by clearing up the jungle around.

#### 44. Agrahat (Cuttack District)

Not far from Chowduar is a small hamlet called Agrahat where there is a partly dilapidated temple of Śiva, called Uttareśvara. Here, too, there are some broken images of various deities, to be found, either in niches or lying about.

#### 45. Shukleshwar (Cuttack District)

The village of Shukleshwar is about twenty miles from Cuttack. There is a ruined Śiva temple named Maṇikeśvara. The upper

portion of the building is completely destroyed, but the lower walls are still standing. They exhibit wonderful carvings. The area around is strewn with heaps of stone slabs. I learnt that through the efforts of some local gentlemen a committee was formed with a view to restoring the temple, but nothing was done so far. The monument is worth protection and conservation.

#### 46. Kisnapur (Cuttack District)

Kisnapur is about 25 miles from Cuttack. The Śiva temple here, called Chateśvara, is another typical example of the beautiful Orissan art and architecture. According to the inscription on a stone slab kept inside the temple, it was built by Vishṇu, the Brahmin minister of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima III (c. A. D. 1211-1238). The inscription has been edited by N. Vasu according to whose interpretation it was Anaṅgabhima II who erected the temple,<sup>3</sup> while R. D. Banerji ascribes its construction to Govinda, the Brahmin minister of Anaṅgabhima II.<sup>4</sup> This question is discussed in detail by me while re-editing the record.

3. *J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 67 (1898) 319.

4. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 255.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT AMBARI (GAUHATI, ASSAM)  
IN 1969 WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ICONS\*

By

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The site in Gauhati at which considerable remains of great archaeological and historical value were brought to light during March/April, 1969, by some labourers working for the building of the Gauhati Branch of the Reserve Bank of India, is known as Ambari. The term 'Ambari' is, evidently, based on a mango grove that should have existed here in olden days, though, at present, there are no mango trees in that place. The area is flanked by the Ravindra Bhavan and the Textile Institute and is situated by the side of the public road on the southern bank of the Dighali Tank, not far from the Assam State Museum. The remains consist of old brick structures, varied specimens of pottery and a number of icons, the last one being collected by the Assam State Department of Archaeology and preserved in the State Museum.

Before taking up the subject of icons, the other finds may be briefly noticed here. Just 60/90 cm. below the ground, a straight brick wall, measuring about 26 metres in length and 45 cm. in thickness was unearthed. This structure might represent either the plinth of a temple *mandapa* or a side wall of the temple enclosures, which can be ascertained only after unearthing the other three sides also. At the western end of the said brick wall there is a structure which appears to be the plinth in almost semicircular shape; the rest of the portion constituting the circular shape of the temple base with a diameter of about 6 metres is expected to be brought out. Just to the northern side of this structure are a few blocks of stone, of which a few pieces are chiselled, resembling a staircase. Possibly, these

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formed part of the pavement of the entrance to the temple. To the south-western corner of the said brick wall, charcoal and ashes were noticed. These materials along with the heaps of broken pottery are to be seen at other places as well; these seem to be the relics of the hearth and oven used for preparing *bhog* for ritualistic purposes. Adjoining the blocks of stone, there is a portion of what looks like a brick floor, and there are also traces of narrow outlets for water here and there.

Besides the above, the entire area, measuring about  $33 \times 26$  metres, is full of old burnt bricks, broken pieces of pottery of different sizes and designs, some with green and white painting and ornamentation. Judging from their colour and variegated designs, it appears that these specimens of pottery are ascribable to different ages and that at least some of them were meant or used for ritualistic purposes. So far as the bricks are concerned, almost all of them look like those used by the early Ahom rulers in constructing temple structures and fortifications in their kingdom.

Of singular historical and artistic value are a large number of icons of various deities in granite, sandstone and of polished stone looking like slate, the notable among which may be noticed here.

### Viṣṇu icons

There are six icons of Viṣṇu, of which three are large and the other three small. The best of the collection is a white granite icon, measuring  $120 \times 33$  cm. The deity is of the *sthānaka* variety in *padmāsana* in *samabhāṅga* pose, flanked by the two goddesses, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. He holds in his upper right arm the *gadā*, in the lower right *padma*, in the upper left *cakra*, and in the lower left *śaṅkha*. He wears *kirīṭamukuta*, *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *udarabandha*, *yajñopavita* and *vanamālā*. The image is with *kīrtimukha* at the top, hovering *vidyādhara*s on either side and *garuḍa* below. Goddess Śrī is holding a *cāmara* in her right hand, while Sarasvatī is playing on the *vīṇā*; both the goddesses are in *tribhāṅga* pose. Some illegible characters are found inscribed below the Viṣṇu image which, on palaeographic grounds, cannot be placed later than the 10th-11th century A. D. The icon represents the Vāsudeva aspect of Viṣṇu.<sup>1</sup>

1. See P. C. Choudhury, *History of civilisation of Assam*, 2nd., edn., Gauhati, 1966, p. 458.

The second icon of Viṣṇu has the same measurement as the above and possesses similar fine sculptural details except that his upper right hand is holding the *padma*, lower right the *gadā*, upper left the *cakra* and lower left the *śaṅkha*. It is also ascribable to the same period as the first, viz, 10-11th cent. A. D. or earlier.

The third Viṣṇu icon, of which the upper right portion is broken, has also the same measurement and sculptural details as the above two, except that the deity is holding the *śaṅkha* in the upper right hand, *padma* in the lower right, *cakra* in the upper left and *gadā* in the lower left. The colour of the stone is greenish. This image also is ascribable to the same period as the first two.

One of the miniature Viṣṇu images, of which some portion in the middle is broken and lost, measures 23 x 11 cm. The deity is with the usual four hands, holding the *gadā* in the upper right hand, the *cakra* in the upper left, the *padma* in the lower right and the *śaṅkha* in the lower left hand. It wears the usual ornaments including *yajñopavīta*, a long *kirīṭamukuta* and *vanamālā* and is attended by Lakṣmī holding the *padma* on his right side and Sarasvatī playing on the *vīṇā* on his left. The *garuḍa* below is worn out and the icon is without the *kīrtimukha*.

Another miniature icon of the deity, of which the lower portion is broken and lost, measures 15 x 15 cm. and has the same sculptural details and goddesses as the above. He is holding the *gadā* in the upper right hand, the *cakra* in the upper left, and the *padma* in the lower right ; the lower left hand is broken. The *kirīṭamukuta* is rather big and flat, and the sculpture is without the *kīrtimukha*. In point of artistic finish, the miniature Viṣṇu icons can hardly be compared with their bigger counterparts, and may have to be ascribed to a later period.

### Sūrya icons

Of Sūrya, two miniature icons have been found. One of them measures 25x12 cm. It is a *sthānaka* variety on a pedestal or *ratha*. By his two hands the deity is holding a lotus in full bloom with the stalk rising up to the head. He is attended by his two consorts *Uṣā* and *Pratyuṣā* or his two doorkeepers, *Dāṇḍa* and *Piṅgala* according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (261.5). He is wearing the *hāra*, *yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā*. At the base of the image some indistinct figures are to be seen, which may be of seven horses. The sculpture is without the *kīrtimukha*.



Viṣṇu icon from Gauhati (Assam)



**Agni icon from Gauhati (Assam)**

The second icon of the deity, measuring  $23 \times 11$  cm. is of the *sthānaka* variety on a high altar or a *ratha*. The figure of a horse is engraved within a wheel of the *ratha*. The other sculptural details are similar to those of the first one, and correspond to those in the texts.<sup>2</sup>

### Agni icons

One miniature icon of Agni is of the *sthānaka* variety and measures  $45 \times 33 \times 23$  cm. It is flanked by his two consorts *Svāhā* and *Svadhā*, and wears a long beard, *jaṭāmukuta* and *yajñopavīta*. The emblems in his two hands are indistinct, but by his left he is embracing *Svāhā*. The details of the sculpture are in keeping with those in the texts.<sup>3</sup>

Another interesting *sthānaka* variety of Agni has two hands and measures  $110 \times 57$  cm. It wears the *jaṭāmukuta*, arranged peculiarly in the shape of a turban, and holds a *kamanḍalu* in his left hand and an *akṣamālā* in the right; a bag is depicted and hung backward over the right shoulder. The deity has a long beard and moustache, is wearing *kundalas*, *yajñopavīta* and *kaupīna* and is attended on his left by a female, possibly *Svāhā*, who is holding a *kamanḍalu* in her left hand and an *akṣamālā* in the right one. One lotus with stalk is engraved on the top of the image.

Another *sthānaka* variety of Agni with the same sculptural details but without the female attendant, measures  $90 \times 50$  cm. The *jaṭāmukuta*, arranged like a turban, is slightly different from the former one.

Of particular importance is another *sthānaka* variety of the deity, measuring  $100 \times 60$  cm. It wears a *jaṭāmukuta* on the head, *kundalas* in the ears, bangles in both the hands and *nūpura* in the feet. A fully bloomed lotus is also seen engraved at the top of the image. It is without attendants. The left hand is holding an inkpot and the right a pen put inside the former. Similar icons as attendants of Sūrya were found from the remains of Dah Parvatia, ascribed to the

2. See T. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography*, (Madras, 1914) Vol. I, Pt. ii, pp. 302ff. ; P. C. Choudhury, *History of civilisation of Assam*, *ibid.*, p. 454.

3. See T. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography*, *ibid.*, pp. 517 ff.

5th-6th century A. D., and one such sculpture has been preserved in the State Museum.<sup>4</sup>

Judging from the stone material and sculptural style, these three big Agni icons may be ascribed to the same period as the bigger Viṣṇu icons, already described.

### Durgā icons

All the icons of Durgā found here represent her *Mahiṣamardini* aspect and are miniature in size. Five of them hold the usual weapons in the ten hands. Each measures 25×15 cm. The *asura* is depicted as coming out of the buffalo who lies at the bottom, his head having been cut off. The *asura*'s left leg is placed on the head of the lion which is engraved on the right side below and the *asura*, fighting with his sword, is seen killed by a spear of the deity held in her lower right hand. The icons are worn out. The sculptural details are in keeping with those in the texts, and similar to icons which have been found earlier elsewhere in Assam and preserved in the State Museum.<sup>5</sup>

Another icon of Durgā measuring 23×13 cm. has the same sculptural details as above except that the *asura* is seen on the ground though coming out of the buffalo. A third icon of the goddess, 10×15 cm., has only the lower portion.

The icons of Durgā in miniature are found engraved on the same stone material or sandstone as those of the miniature Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Agni images, already dealt with, and in point of time are ascribable to the same period. The style of the sculptures indicate that it is not improbable that the sculptors and engravers were also the same.

### Śivalīṅga and Yonipīṭha

A number of anicons were also unearthed along with the images. There are seven liṅgas of highly polished stone, two or three of them being possibly of slate. The largest three measure 63 cm. in height and 70 cm. in circumference, and the smallest only 13 cm. in height and 15 cm. in circumference. Of the *yonipīṭhas* numbering six,

4. See also K. N. Dikshit, *Annual Rep. of the Arch. Survey of India*, 1924-25, pp. 94 f.

5. See P. C. Choudhury, *History of civilisation of Assam*, *ibid.*, pp. 464 ff.

including an unfinished one, the largest two measure 40 cm. in height and 63 cm. in diameter.

### Nandi

There are three stone bulls representing Nandi in the *āsana* posture. One of them measures 65 cm. in length and 43 cm. in height, another 95 cm. in length and 35 cm. in height, and the third, whose face is partly broken, 63 cm. in length and 33 cm. in height.

Among other archaeological remains, mention may be made of an octagonal pillar piece, measuring 113×113 cm., with a hole at one end, meant for joining it to another piece. This, along with another decorative piece of stone, now preserved in the Museum, and other blocks of stone found beside the brick structures noted above, seem to indicate that some stone structures existed in the locality. A very interesting find is a female torso of burnt clay, hollow inside. It has prominent breasts and wears ornaments. Possibly, it represents a *vidyādhari* or *kinnari*. This sculpture, a rare find in Assam, is of exquisite workmanship.

It has already been noted that the brick structures, so far discovered, seem to have belonged to a temple establishment, meant for royal purposes, and that the icons pertained to that temple. While the bigger icons, particularly of Viṣṇu, Agni and Sūrya, which belonged to an earlier period, were, subsequently, fixed in the temple walls and in the gateways or entrances to the temple, the smaller ones including the anicons, representing the Śakta faith, were prepared later on and placed inside the temple. Thus, in character, the temple may be termed 'Deva', a name given by Yuan Chwang who saw hundreds of 'Deva' temples with myriads of followers in the capital of Kāmarūpa at the time of his visit to Assam during the time of Bhāskaravarman of the 7th century A. D.

Be that as it may, the Ambari finds, including the icons, are to be studied along with the stone structures that were discovered at the time of constructing the adjacent building of the Textile Institute, mentioned earlier, and which is supposed to be the site of royal residences, possibly, from pre-Ahom days. For a proper appraisal of the finds, it would be necessary to link them with historical events

as well as with other existing royal residences and temple structures. It is to be noted that while all other temples, barring Ugratārā and Bāneśvara at Gauhati, are found constructed on hill tops, the present site has uncovered a temple structure on plain ground and, that too, on the bank of the Dighali tank which constituted, at least during the Ahom rule, a portion of the *Noubāhar* of the Latāśil or Pāniduār. This existed possibly from the time of the pre-Ahom days. So far as we know, the State Museum premises including at least the western portion of the Ravindra Bhavan were under water till recent times. It has to be inferred that the temple at Ambari was a royal shrine like the Ugratārā shrine in Gauhati, which, according to available records, was built by Indrapāla the Pāla king of Kāmarūpa of the 11th century A. D.<sup>6</sup> Decorated blocks of stone and icons were also found in this temple premises.

It may not possible, at this stage, to specify ultimately, the period of Assam history to which the present archaeological finds belong. Planned excavation work at the site is yet to be started. Deep digging not only in the present site but also in the adjoining areas would be necessary to decide the matter. This may, possibly, reveal the existence of stone structures below the present brick structures as found elsewhere in Assam. However, judging from the finds so far discovered, it may be surmised that the temple structures were built by Pāla rulers in the 10-11th century A. D. The group of bigger icons are also to be ascribed to the same period. When the temple was reconstructed by some early Ahom ruler, as evidenced by the nature of the bricks, the icons of the older Pāla temple were put in the temple walls as is the case with the existing temple of Janārdana at Gauhati and Maṇikarneśvara on the north bank, which were reconstructed by the late Ahom rulers on old foundations. The group of smaller icons and the phallic objects of worship were placed inside the temple after the reconstruction and animal sacrifice was also introduced. The structures should have got demolished due to frequent Muslim invasions of Gauhati during the 17-18th century A. D. These were not standing at least in 1897, else we would have detailed descriptions of the same along with the other temples affected by the devastating earthquake of the year, as described by Sir Edward Gait.

6. Cf., P. C. Choudhury, *History of civilisation of Assam*, *ibid.*, p. 424.

AN IMAGE OF SKANDA-KĀRTTIKEYA FROM  
THE PANJAB HILLS

By

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Skanda-Kumāra-Kārttikeya,<sup>1</sup> the son of Śiva and Pārvati,<sup>2</sup> was the commander-in-chief of the gods.<sup>3</sup> The *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>4</sup> and the *Mahābhārata*<sup>5</sup> give us some interesting account of the birth of Kārttikeya, and the latter of these, which provides a long list of his names,<sup>6</sup> also furnishes some details as to why he was called by the names of Skanda, Kumāra, Kārttikeya, Guha,<sup>7</sup> etc.

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1. See for details P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1967.

2. Cf., the following verse from Śaṅkarācārya :

इहायाहि वत्सेति हस्तान्प्रसार्याह्वयत्यादरात्शङ्करे मातुरङ्कात् ।  
समुत्पद्य तातं श्रयन्तं कुमारं हराशिलष्टगात्रं भजे बालमूर्तिम् ॥

3. Cf., सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः, *Bhagavadgītā* 10.24; सेनानी, *Raghuvamśa*, 2. 37, etc.

4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 37. 1-30.

5. *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 255. 1-25.

6. Some of the names referred to are Agneya, Skanda, Diptakīrti, Anāmaya, Mayūraketu, Dharmātmā, Bhūteśa, Mahiśamardana, Kāmajit, Kāmada, Kānta, Satyavāk, Bhuvaneśvara, Śiśu, Śighra, Śuci, Caṇḍa, Diptavarṇa, Śubhānana, Amogha, Anagha, Raudra, Priya, Candrānana, Diptasakti, Praśāntātmā, Bhadrakṛt, Kūṭamohana, Saṣṭhīpriya, Pavitra, Mātravatsala, Kanyābhartā, Vibhakta, Svāheya, Revatisuta, Prabhu, Netī, Viśākha, Naigameya, Suduścara, Suvrata, Lalita, Bālakriḍānaka-priya, Akāśacārī, Brahmacārī, Śūra, Śaravaṇodbhava, Viśvāmitrapriya, Devasenāpriya, Vāsudevapriya, Priya, Priyakṛt, etc. — *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 232, 3-9. *Amarakośa* (1. 39-40) gives seventeen names of this god.

7. ददृशः कृत्तिकास्तं तु वालार्कसदृशद्युतिम् ।  
पुत्रं वै ताइच तं बालं पुपुषुः स्तन्यविस्त्रवैः ॥

One of the earliest descriptions of Kārttikeya riding on his *vāhana*, peacock, is given by Kālidāsa when he says in his *Raghuvamśa* (6.4) *mayūraprśthāśrayinā guhena*. Varāhamihira, who also belongs to the Gupta period, states that Skanda looks boylike, holds a spear and has a peacock for his ensign ; cf.:

स्कन्दः कुमाररूपः शक्तिधरो वर्हिकेतुश्च ! *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 57. 41

Some more iconographic details about Skanda is found in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (259.45-51), *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.71.3-6), the *Rūpa-maṇḍana* (5.26) and other works.

Though the earliest representation of the god is found on the coins,<sup>8</sup> his images belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period are well known from Mathura<sup>9</sup> and Gandhara.<sup>10</sup> But it appears that his worship was well in vogue in the Gupta period. The Bilsad inscription<sup>11</sup> of Kumāragupta I of the year 96 (= A. D. 415) refers to a temple of Svāmi-Mahāsena also named as Brahmanya. The depiction of the deity riding on his peacock<sup>12</sup> is also found on the 'Peacock type' coins of the king.<sup>13</sup>

ततः स कार्तिकेयत्वमवाप परमद्युतिः ।

स्कन्दत्वात् स्कन्दतां चापि गुहावासाद् गुहोऽभवत् ॥

*Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva*, 85. 81-82.

8. See J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 140f.

9. V. S. Agrawala. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, 22 (1949) 140.

10. R. C. Agrawala, *East and West*, Rome, 16 (1966) 83.

11. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 49. Temples in honour of the deity were also built during the mediaeval period. From a Gwalior record, we learn of a temple of Kārttikeya (Viśākha), to which some land was granted. See the *Annual Report of Gwalior State Arch. Deptt.*, 1927-28, p. 15.

12. See J. P. Thaker, 'Peacock ; The national bird of India', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 12 (1962-63) 426-46.

13. A. S. Altekar, *Gupta-kalina mudrāyen*, Patna, 1954, pp. 142-44, pl. 13. 11-13.



Skanda-Kārttikeya from the Panjab Hills



Numerous images of Skanda-Kārttikeya discovered from the various parts of India generally show him riding on his peacock and holding a spear in one of his hands.<sup>14</sup> An exquisitely carved image of Kārttikeya, probably fashioned in the Panjab Hills, was recently acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi (Acc. No. 68.22; ht. 35 cms.; see pl.). He is shown squatting on his mount, the peacock Paravāṇī, and carrying a spear (*śakti*) in his right hand. His hair is typically arranged in the fashion of three *śikhaṇḍakas* and he wears circular ear-rings, crescent-shaped necklace, other usual ornaments and a lower garment reaching upto the knees.

The peacock pecks at the citron (*mātulūṅga*) held in the left hand (now lost) of Kārttikeya. Its spread plumage serves as a halo (*prabhāvalī*) for the god, as also shown in a somewhat similar Gupta image of the deity from U.P. and now displayed in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.<sup>15</sup> In this image, too, which is datable to c. 7th century A.D., the pose and the whole atmosphere is one of astonishing repose and dignity. It recalls to our mind a beautiful verse from the Akaltara Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva II,<sup>16</sup> which states that the illustrious king, whose power is well known on the earth, makes good men mistake him for Kumāra (Kārttikeya); (for) he is possessed of great prowess (as Kārttikeya is of a powerful missile); he is clever in removing the impediments of learned persons (as Kārttikeya is in destroying the enemies of gods); and appears splendid with his mighty and spreading fire-like prowess (*śikhī iva vikrāntam*) (as Kārttikeya looks beautiful with the proud stepping of his peacock) (as also shown in the image under scrutiny) :

महाशक्त्याधारो विवु(बृ)धपरिपन्थप्रतिहति-  
प्रवीणः प्रोद्धामप्रसरशिखिविक्रान्तलङ् [हः] ।  
महा[ राज ]ः[श्रीमान्मुवनतल] [वि]—[रुयात]महिमा  
सतामित्थं योसो जनयति कु[मार]म्भमिह ॥ १७

14. A. K. Chatterjee, 'Characteristics of Skanda-Kārttikeya', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, Jan. 1969, 1, pp. 60-66.

15. *Rūpam*, Calcutta, No. 21, Jan. 1925, p. 41, and plate.

16. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. I, pp. 432-33, v. 15.

17. Photograph: By Courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi, prepared by Śrī Shan Nemetullah, photographer of the Museum.

## KĀRTIKEYA'S ŚAKTI AS ĀYUDHA-DEVĪ

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It is quite a well-known fact that in post-Kuśāṇ period Viṣṇu's three emblems, *viz.*, club (*gadā*), wheel (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*), have been depicted in anthropomorphic forms and were then known as *āyudhapuruṣa-s* and *āyudhadevī-s*. The practice finds mention in contemporary literature also. For example, Kālidāsa observes in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (10.60) that Kausalyā and the other queens felt themselves well protected by short statured beings (*vāmanaka-s*) bearing respective symbols (*lāñcchana-s*) during their period of pregnancy. *Harivamśa* also refers to the anthropomorphic weapons of Viṣṇu in connection with the famous *Cakra-musala* war fought between Jarāsandha of Magadha and the two brothers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.<sup>1</sup> In the field of art, along with the common weapons of Viṣṇu, *viz.*, club, wheel and conch in anthropomorphic forms, we have found his sword *Nandaka* and his bow *Sārīga* represented in the same way. Such a depiction of the sword is found in a Gupta specimen from Deogarh and that of the bow in an early mediaeval sculpture.<sup>2</sup>

The practice of showing *āyudhapuruṣa-s* was sometimes adopted by the Śaiva-s also. Śiva's emblems, *viz.*, trident (*trisūla* named *Vijaya*), bow (*Pināka*) and his famous arrow (*Pāśupata astra*) have been described in the *Mahābhārata* as *āyudha-puruṣa-s*, that is, in human forms. Of them, the *Trisūla-puruṣa* can be seen in a few specimens of Gupta and mediaeval art.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Harivamśa*, the Tail Chapter of *Mahābhārata*, Viṣṇuparva, 43. 7-10 (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, p. 375).

2. In a Śeśasāṅgī Viṣṇu from Deogarh, the lower panel shows different *āyudhapuruṣa-s* as attacking the two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. For representation of the bow, see the figure of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu from Manwa, preserved in the Lucknow Museum.

3. See N. P. Joshi, 'A note on *Trisūla-puruṣa*', *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Bhubaneshwar, 1959, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 235-37.





Kārtikeya with Śakti as *āyudhadevī*  
(Patna Mus., Ac. No. Arch. 6006)

It appears that the devotees of Skanda or Kārtikeya, whose cult was once quite popular in North India, did not lag behind in depicting in female form the spear (*śakti*) which is the chief weapon of their deity. R. C. Agrawala has already brought to light a bronze figure of a six-headed Kārtikeya holding the *śakti* in his left hand as a female figure.<sup>4</sup> This bronze figure, which is now in the National Museum, comes from Chamba Hill region and has been attributed to c. 6th-7th century A. D. The Museum at Patna preserves an earlier example in stone (Ac. no. Arch. 6006).

The icon under discussion is a sandstone figure (see fig.) showing a single-headed standing Kārtikeya. His hair which is arranged in three crests (*tri-sikhaṇḍa*) and the graceful peacock appearing near his feet leave no doubt regarding the identification. The figure is a fine specimen of Gupta art, but the most interesting aspect is the short statured female figure standing by the right side of the deity and supporting his arm. Actually, her right hand is held by Kārtikeya in an easy way. Her hair is beautifully arranged in *dhammilla* fashion. Just above her hair, near the forehead, there appears a crest, which has got the shape of a spear blade. Kārtikeya in North India does not have any female figure to his left as his consort. This fact, the size of the female figure, the way Kārtikeya catches her hand and, above all, her spear blade crest which serves as her *lāñchhana*, definitely go to indicate that the figure in question is Kārtikeya's *śakti* as *āyudhadevī*.

This stone figure, therefore, stands a good comparison with the Chamba bronze already referred to. In the bronze figure the *lāñchhana* appearing over the head of the female figure is perhaps the top of the mace, as observed by Agrawala, but in the present case it is very clearly the spearhead. On stylistic grounds, I am inclined to attribute the Patna figure to c. 6th century A. D., that is, about a hundred years or so earlier than the Chamba bronze.

Another point in the Patna figure deserves special mention and that is the type of *uttariya* making a loop near Kārtikeya's knees.

4. R. C. Agrawala, 'A rare bronze of Skanda Kumāra from the Punjab hills,' *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 5 (1967) 206-8,

It is the same as has been identified by V. S. Agrawala as *bhaṅgurottarāīyā*, which he found in one of the terracotta figures from Ahichchhatra. The present specimen in stone is, therefore, highly interesting.\*

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## HISTORY OF *MĀSA*-PULSE IN INDIA AND ITS CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

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The history of cultivated plants is interwoven with the history of the different people who were responsible for their domestication, usage and spread to other ethnic groups. The impact of plants on man is so significant that the domestication of each crop created a demand for an essential complementary element in human diet and culture. Consequently, the detailed accounts on the manifold uses of the cultivated plants needs to be prepared for elucidating cultural histories in plant perspective. The late Prof. P.K. Gode rightly pointed out<sup>1</sup> that this aspect of Indological studies, viz., the history of the uses of plants, has almost been neglected by Indian scholars inspite of the wealth of information available in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical texts. In the absence of special accounts dealing with the history of each domesticated plant, this contribution of India did not get recognition in any standard book on the history of plant sciences of the world.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, during the course of my studies on the Indian Ethno-botany, I collected information on manifold uses of the cultivated plants from several oriental and medical texts available in the India Office Library, London, and several Indian libraries. In my previous papers, I have given historical accounts of the sesame, mustard and jujube.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P. K. Gode, 'The plant-lore of Ancient India', *Aryan Path*, 18 (1947) 1-4.

2. E. g., H. S. Reed, *History of Plant Sciences*, (Chronica Botanica Co., Mass., U.S.A., 1942).

3. K.L. Mehra, 'History of sesame in India and its cultural significance', *Vishveshvaranand Ind. Journal (VIJ)* 5 (1967) 93-107; 'History and ethno-botany of mustard in India' *Adv. Frontier of Plant Sciences*, 19 (1967) 51-59; 'History of jujube in India,' *Indian Jour. of Hort.*, 24 (1967) 33-37.

The present paper deals with the history of the use of *māṣa* pulse (*Phaseolus mungo* Roxb.) in India.

*Māṣa* is referred to by several names in the different languages and parts of India. It is called *mash-kalai*, *mash-kulai*, *tircorai-kalai* (Bengali); *kala urd*, *urud*, *udid* (Deccan Peninsular region); *arad*, *adad* (Gujarati); *dord*, *thikiri*, *urd*, *urid*, *urad* (Hindi); *hasaru*, *uddu* (Kannada); *udid* (Konkan); *urd* (Kumaon hill region); *ulunnu* (Malayalam); *maga*, *udid* (Marathi); *mah*, *mash*, *urad* (Punjabi); *denie-masha*, *māṣa*, *hurita* (Sanskrit); *bir-saug*, *ramra* (Santhali); *maga*, *mah*, *urad* (Sindhi); *ulundu* (Tamil); *karu-minumulu*, *minu-mulu*, *minumu* (Telugu).

In foreign languages, *māṣa* is referred to as, *mash* (Arabic); *black-gram* (English); *haricot d'angola*, *haricot radie*, *haricot mungo* (French); *mungobohne*, *schwarze bohne*, *strahlfruchtige bohne* (German); *fagiolo a zigzag* (Italian); *ulundu-mae* (Sinhalese); *lehlodi* (Southern Sotho); *Chirroko chooko* (Swahili); *angola fasulyasi* (Turkish).

The reference to the use of *māṣa* in ancient India are given below in the historical and ethno-botanical perspective.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS

The seeds of *māṣa* (*Phaseolus mungo* Roxb.) were identified<sup>4</sup> among the plant remains obtained during the archaeological excavations conducted at Navdatoli-Maheshwar, Madhya Pradesh, by Prof. H. D. Sankalia.<sup>5</sup> The Navdatoli findings belong to the Chalcolithic period and range in age 1500 B. C. to 1000 B. C.<sup>6</sup> Giving an account of the hearths and houses of the Navdatoli folk, Prof. Sankalia writes<sup>7</sup> that the houses were burnt down at least twice by fire, and the fresh habitation started on the burnt debris. Four distinct phases were recognized,<sup>8</sup> and the identification of samples collected indicated that *māṣa* seems to have been a common pulse used in the first three phases of habitation.<sup>9</sup>

4. Vishnu-Mitre, *Plant economy in ancient Navdatoli-Maheshwar*, Dept. of Archaeol. and Ancient Indian Hist., Deccan College, Poona, Publ. No. 2 (1961) 13-52.

5-8. H.D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S.B. Deo, *The excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli, 1952-53*, Deccan Coll. Res. Inst. and the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Univ., Publ. 1 (1958) 1-257.

9. *Op. cit.*, fn. 4, *supra*.

In a personal communication dated 15th May, 1969, the eminent Indian Archaeo-botanist, Dr. Vishnu-Mitre of Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow, wrote to me as follows : "Carbonised remains of *Phaseolus mungo* were discovered from Navdatoli. A few carbonised grains from Ter, Osmanabad, (200 B.C.), and a good collection from Paiyanpalli, Madras, about 1400 B.C. has grains much resembling that of *P. mungo* and *P. radiatus*, but the hilum scar in them is not placed exactly in the centre as in the corresponding living grains. This is the only information available so far from India."

#### HISTORICAL RECORDS

##### Vedic period (before 800 B.C.)

Amongst the pulses of common use during this period, *māṣa* is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*<sup>10</sup> (12. 2. 53), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*<sup>11</sup> (6. 3. 13), *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*<sup>12</sup> (7. 7. 32. 7), *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*<sup>13</sup> (4. 3. 2.), *Śātāpatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>14</sup> (1. 1. 1. 10), *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*<sup>15</sup> (5. 1. 8. 1, 7. 2. 10. 2), *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*<sup>16</sup> (18. 12). *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (32. 7) and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (1. 4. 10) prohibit the use of *māṣa* for sacrificial purposes. Preparations of sesame and *māṣa* are

10. *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, Ed. R. Roth and W.D. Whitney, (Berlin, 1856) ; Ed. S.D. Satavalekar, (Aundh, V.S. 1995) ; *Atharvaveda*, Tr. W. D. Whitney, (HOS 7, 8) (Cambridge, Mass., 1905).

11. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa, (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 2012) ; Ed. and Tr. O. Bohtlingk, (Leipzig, 1889).

12. *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, Ed. S.D. Satavalekar, (Aundh, 1943).

13. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, Ed. S.D. Satavalekar, (Aundh, V.S. 1998) ; Ed. Von Schroeder, (Leipzig, 1881-86).

14. *Śātāpatha Brāhmaṇa*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa and Harisvāmī, (Bombay, 1940) ; Ed. A. Weber, (London, 1885) ; Tr. J. Eggeling, (SBE 12, 26 etc. Oxford, 1882, 1900).

15. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa, (Anandasrama, Poona, 1940) ; Ed. with the commentary of Mādhaba, (Calcutta, 1854-99).

16. *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, with the commentary of Mahīdhara, (Bombay, 1929) ; Ed. A. Weber, (London, 1852).

mentioned in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6. 3. 13) and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*<sup>17</sup> (5. 10. 6).

### Sūtra period (800-300 B. C.)

*Māṣa* is mentioned as an article of food in the *Āṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini<sup>18</sup> (5. 1. 7, 5. 2. 4) and the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*<sup>19</sup> (2. 6. 6). *Odana*, a preparation of rice cooked with pulses is mentioned in *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*<sup>20</sup> (2. 3), *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*<sup>21</sup> (3. 3. 5) and *Āṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (4. 4. 67). The common pulse preparations were *soup* (Pāṇini, 6. 2. 128) and small round balls, called *vaṭaka*, (*Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*,<sup>22</sup> 14. 29).

*Māṣa* also entered into the social and religious life of the people during this period since it was used in *Śrāddha* (*Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*,<sup>23</sup> 2. 7. 16. 23) and tonsure ceremonies (the shaving of the head as a sign of dedication to the special service of God) (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*,<sup>24</sup> 1. 15. 3; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasēṣa Sūtra*,<sup>25</sup>

17. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, (Gita press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 2011); Ed. and Tr. O. Bohtlingk, (Leipzig, 1889).

18. *Āṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Ed. D.K. Vidyaratna, (Calcutta, 1912). See also V.S. Agrawala, *Pāṇini kālina Bhāratavarṣa* (Hindi), (Benaras, 1955); V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Lucknow, 1953).

19. *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, (Calcutta, 1936).

20. *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, (Anandasrama, Poona, 1917).

21. *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, Ed. R. Sharma Sastri, (Mysore, 1923).

22. *Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, Tr. by G. Buhler (SBE 14, Oxford, 1879). Ed. by A. A. Fuhrer, Bombay, 1889.

23. *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, 2 parts, Ed. G. Buhler, (Bombay Sans. Ser., Nos. 44, 50; 1892-94); Tr. G. Buhler, SBE 2, (Oxford, 1879); Ed. with the commentary of Haradatta, (Benares, 1932).

24. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, Ed. A.G. Stenzler, (Leipzig, 1864); Ed. Ravi Tīrtha, (Adyar, Madras, 1944).

25. *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasēṣa Sūtra*, Quoted in Om Prakash, *Food and drinks in Ancient India*, (Delhi, 1961),

1. 16. 17). However, the dark grains of *māṣa* were prohibited for use in *śrāddha* (*Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, 2. 8. 18. 2).

### Early Buddhist and Jain period (500-300 B. C.)

The use of *māṣa* as a pulse crop is mentioned in *Bhagavatī Sūtra*<sup>26</sup> (21. 2), *Jātakas*<sup>27</sup> (546), *Prajñāpanā-Sūtra*<sup>28</sup> (1. 23-40), *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga*<sup>29</sup> (2. 1) and *Vinayapiṭaka Mahāvagga*<sup>30</sup> (6. 16. 33).

The most common preparation using *māṣa* was a *soup* (*yuṣṭa* or *sūpa*) (*Upāsaka Daśāṅga*,<sup>31</sup> 1. 36, *Vinayapiṭaka Mahāvagga*, 1. 298. 1, 6. 33. 3). Round balls (*vaṭaka*) of pulse, fried in clarified butter, were also eaten and these were sometimes made sour by fermentation (*Upāsaka Daśāṅga*, 1. 38, 40). Cooked pulses were called *Aparāṇa* (*Āṅguttara Nikāya*<sup>32</sup> 4. 112). Very thin cakes called *Parpaṭas* were also prepared by people (*Ācārāṅga Sūtra*,<sup>33</sup> 2. 1. 527, 614; *Prajñāpana Sūtra*, 123-40). It is stated in the *Vinayapiṭaka Mahāvagga* (6. 5. 1) that poor people commonly ate fried *māṣa* grains. We learn, again, from *Mahāvagga* (6. 6. 4) that Lord Buddha permitted his followers to take *māṣa* and other food items for eating during the journey (*pāṭheya*) since, on certain routes, it was difficult to procure foodstuffs.

26. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1918-19; Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-1919).

27. *Jātakas*, vols. I-VII, Ed. V. Fausboll, (London, 1877).

28. *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*, Tr. Bhagwandas, (Ahmedabad, V.S. 1991).

29. *Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga*, Ed. Amolaka Rishi, (Hyderabad, 1920); Tr. H. Jacobi, (SBE 45, Oxford, 1895).

30. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Ed. Oldenberg, vols. I-V, (London, 1879-1883); *Vinayapiṭaka*, (H), (Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Mahabodhi Sabha, Benares, 1935). *Sacred Books of the Buddhists—Vinaya Piṭaka*, Ed. I.B. Horner, vols. X and XI, (London, 1940, 1949). See also *Mahāvagga*, (SBE 17, Oxford, 1885); *Jagadisakassapa*, (Pāli Publication Board, Bihar Govt., 1956).

31. *Upāsakadśāṅga*, Ed. N. A. Gore, (Poona, 1953).

32. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Ed. E. Morris and E. Hardy, Parts I-V, (London, 1885-1900).

33. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Ed. and Tr. H. Jacobi, (SBE 22, Oxford, 1884); Amolaka Rishi, (Hyderabad, 1920).

### Maurya and Śunga period (300 B. C.-75 A. D.)

We learn from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*<sup>34</sup> (300 B. C.-100 A. D.) (2.24.16-18) that *māṣa* was grown as a third crop between the two main crops, one ripening in winter and the other in summer. We learn from Patañjali (c. 150 B. C.) that there was a taboo against the use of *māṣa* and its preparations (*Mahābhāṣya*,<sup>35</sup> 1.127). *Māṣa* was one of the ingredients in the daily ration of horses as prescribed by Kauṭilya.<sup>36</sup>

### Epics and Manusmṛti (4th cent. B. C.-5th cent. A. D.)

It is stated in *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>37</sup> (*Uttara-kāṇḍa*, 91.23); that Rāmā asked Lakṣmaṇa to carry out preparations for the Aśvamedha Sacrifice in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of river *Gomati* and *māṣa* was included amongst the materials offered.

### Kuṣāṇa and Śaka Sātavāhana period (75 -300 A. D.)

*Caraka Saṃhitā*<sup>38</sup> refers to *māṣa* amongst the pulses of this period (27.22-23), though, its daily use was prohibited (5.6-8) since it was considered difficult to digest (*Caraka Saṃhitā*, 25, page 130). *Suśruta Saṃhitā*<sup>39</sup> refers to use of two preparations, viz. (1) *Kṛṣṇa*, a porridge prepared with sesamum, rice and *māṣa* pulse (1.46.346) and (2) *Kāmbalīka*, a mixture of curd, oil, sesamum and *māṣa* (1.46.381). In a treatise called *Vaīkhāṇasīya Kāṣyapa Jñānakāṇḍa*,<sup>40</sup> dealing with

34. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Ed. Shama Sastri, (Mysore, 1919); Udayavir Sastri, (Lahore, 1925).

35. *Mahābhāṣya*, of Patañjali, Ed. F. Kielhorn, vols. I-III, (Bombay, 1892-1906); See also B.N. Puri, *India in the time of Patañjali* (Bombay, 1957).

36. *Op. cit.*, Ed. Udayavir Sastri, 2. 30. 20 (p. 303).

37. *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Ed. T.R. Krishnacharya, (Bombay, 1913). See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, D. P. Sarma (Allahabad, 1950); Tr. R.T.H. Griffith, 5 vols., (London, 1870-74).

38. *Caraka Saṃhitā*, with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, (N.S. Press, Bombay, 1941).

39. *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, with the commentary of Dalhaṇa, (Bombay, 1938).

40. *Vaīkhāṇasīya-Kāṣyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa*, Ed. R. Parthasarathi (S. V. Oriental Ser., No. 12, Tirupati, 1948).

*Vaiṣṇava* ritual and worship, *māṣa* is mentioned among the seventeen sacred grains of this period (chap, 22, p.33 ; chap. 85, p. 138-39) for use in religious ceremonies.

### Gupta period (c. 300-750 A. D.)

The use of *māṣa* pulse as an article of food is mentioned in *Āngavijjā*<sup>41</sup> (c. 4th cent. A. D.) (p. 65) and Bower Manuscript (2.14).<sup>42</sup> Preparations of rice and *māṣa* were considered very nourishing (*Āngavijjā*, *ibid.*) *Vāyu Purāṇa*<sup>43</sup> (3rd or 4th cent. A. D.), (8.153-54) refers to the use of *māṣa* as a cultivated pulse crop.

### Post-Gupta period (after 750 A. D.)

*Āṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*<sup>44</sup> (c. 850 A. D., *Sūtrasthāna* 8.41) prohibits the daily use of *māṣa* since it is difficult to digest. *Agni Purāṇa* (800-900 A. D.)<sup>45</sup> mentions the use of *māṣa* as a horse food. It is stated in *Śukranītisāra* (800-1300 A. D.)<sup>46</sup> (4.7.143) that barley and gram are the best, *māṣa* and *mukustaka* are of middle quality and *masūra* and *mudga* are of the lowest quality as horse food. In *Āśvavaidyaka* (11.9) written by Jayadatta<sup>47</sup> (before 1000 A. D.), *māṣa* is prescribed for the regiment of horses along with other grains, viz., barley and gram. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*<sup>48</sup> (10th cent. A. D.), (8.48) refers to *māṣa* amongst the

41. *Āngavijjā*, Ed. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, (Prākrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1957).

42. *Bower Manuscript*, Ed. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, (Calcutta, 1893).

43. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ed. in *Anandasrama Sanskrit Series*, (Poona, 1905). See also, D.R. Patil, *Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, (Poona, 1946).

44. *Vāgbhaṭa* II, *Āṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Ed. Paradkar Shastri, (Bombay, 1939) ; Tr. Atrideva Gupta, (Benaras 1950).

45. *Agni Purāṇa*, (Anandasrama. Poona, 1900. See also, Dr. R.C. Hazra, *Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs*, (Dacca, 1940).

46. *Śukra-Nītisāra*, Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, (Calcutta, 1882) ; Tr. B.K. Sarkar, *Sacred Book of the Hindus*, vol. 13, (Allahabad, 1914).

47. *Āśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta, (Calcutta, 1886) ; Ed. Umeśa Chandra Gupta in *Bibliotheca Indica*, (Calcutta 1886, page 106).

48. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsagara Bhattacharya, (Calcutta, 1890).

pulses used in this Period. *Kṣīrasvamī*, (c. 1050 A. D.),<sup>49</sup> a commentator of *Amarakośa*, also refers to the common use of *māṣa* amongst 17 grain crops of his time. *Vijñāneśvara* (1070-1100), the author of the *Mitākṣarā* commentary on *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* (1.240),<sup>50</sup> permits the use of *māṣa* in religious sacrifices and as fit for oblation at *Śrāddha*. In his commentary on *Yajñavalkya smṛti*, *Aparārka* (c. 1100 A. D.)<sup>51</sup> quotes an extract from *Matsya Purāṇa* which refers to the use of *māṣa* amongst 18 *dhānyas* prescribed for sacred gifts to Brahmins.

*Mānasollāsa*, an encyclopaedic Sanskrit work composed by the Cālukya king *Someśvara* (c. 1130 A. D.)<sup>52</sup> mentions several preparations made from *māṣa* pulse. In a preparation named *Idarikā*, fermented fined flour of *māṣa* was rolled into small circular balls, fried in clarified butter and mixed with asafoetida and cumin seeds (*Mānasollāsa*, 3. 1399-1401). In another preparation called *Ghārikā*, round cakes with five or seven holes were made with *māṣa* flour and fried in oil till their colour became red (*ibid.*, 2.1401-1402). We also learn (*ibid.*, 3.1403-1418) that *māṣa* cakes, called *vāṭakas*, were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds alongwith several spices, viz., rock-salt, ginger corriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vāṭakas* were dropped into this mixture, and the mixture fumigated before use (*ibid.*, 3.1403-1418). It is also stated (*ibid.*, 3.1397-99) that *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water and its seed coat was removed. The remaining parts (cotyledons) were ground on a piece of stone. A few spices were added and the mixture after hand churning was allowed to ferment for a few days. The fermented material was made into small balls and dried. The dried balls were cooked whenever desired.

*Prajāpati Smṛti* (152-153)<sup>53</sup> recommends the use of *māṣa* pulse as a substitute for meat preparations. The *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śriharṣa

49. *Kṣīrasvamī*'s commentary on the *Amarakośa*, Ed. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, (Poona, 1941).

50. *Vijñāneśvara*'s *Mitākṣarā*, Commentary on *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, Ed. W. L. S. Pansikar, (Bombay, 1926).

51. *Aparārka*'s Commentary on *Yajñavalkya Smṛti*, Ed. (*Anandasrama Sans. Series*, Poona, 1903, vol. I. pp. 322-53).

52. *Someśvara*'s *Mānasollāsa*, Ed. G. K. Shrigondevkar, (GOS 84, Baroda, 1939).

53. *Prajāpati Smṛti* in *Smṛti-Samuccaya*, Ed. V. G. Apte, (*Anandasrama Sans. Series*, Poona, 1939).

(1150-1200 A. D.),<sup>54</sup> (16. 98) refers to a preparation, named *Kṣīravaṭa* which was prepared by putting into milk *vāṭakas* made with *māṣa* flour fried in clarified butter.

Parāśara (1266 A. D.) states in his *Kṛṣi-Saṅgraha* that, "If the trees have their fruits destroyed, the pouring of cold water after being cooked together with *kulattha*, *māṣa*, *mudga*, other pulses, *yava*, and *tila* would lead to the growth of flowers and fruits."<sup>55</sup>

Queen Viśvāsa Devī (15th cent. A.D.), wife of King Padma Singh of Mithila, refers, in her work entitled *Gāṅgāvākyāvalī*<sup>56</sup> to *māṣa* pulse amongst the materials to be offered by a pilgrim performing *śrāddha* at a holy place. We learn from *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* (composed between 1500-1700 A. D.)<sup>57</sup> that large quantities of *māṣa* pulse were kept in granaries along with the grains of other crops. In *Gīrvāṇapadamañjari*,<sup>58</sup> Dhunḍirāja (c. 1690-1700 A. D.) mentions *māṣa* as a product of Bengal. In *Bṛhad-gārgīya Saṃhitā*<sup>59</sup> we find a reference to *māṣa* and other grains in the chapter on *Tulākośa*.

The above account shows that much before the Christian era, *māṣa* was used for manifold purposes in India. It was consumed as a pulse crop by the Chalcolithic (c. 1500 B. C.) people of Navdatoli-Maheshwar, Madhya Pradesh. In the Vedic (before 800 B. C.) and post-Vedic periods, *māṣa* enriched Indian diet and cookery to a great extent. In fact, it was so much accepted in the ancient Indian culture that it was even used in the socio-religious ceremonies. It began to be used as a horse food from the Maurya and Śuṅga periods (300 B. C.-75 A. D.). The Sanskrit name, *māṣa*, gave origin to the word *māṣa*

54. Śrīharṣa's *Naisadha Carita*, Ed. Sivadatta, (Bombay, 1952).

55. Extracted in *Upavanavinoda*, Ed. and Tr. G. P. Majumdar, (Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1935).

56. Viśvāsa Devī's *Gāṅgāvākyāvalī*, Ed. J. B. Chaudhuri, (Calcutta, 1940).

57. *Ākāśabhairavakalpa*, Ms. No. 43 of 1925-26 in the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

58. *Gīrvāṇapadamañjari* of Dhunḍirāja; see folios 13-18 of Ms. No. 21 of 1919-24 in the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

59. *Bṛhad-gārgīya-Saṃhitā*, Ms. No. 452 of 1895-1902 of the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. The ms. is dated Saṃ. 1881, i.e., A.D. 1825.

used as a unit of weight in India. Botanical evidences suggest<sup>60</sup> that the original home of *māṣa* is India, where it seems to have been first domesticated. From India, this pulse spread to other countries in the ancient times and its spread is closely connected with the cultural histories of the recipient countries. The regions between Afghanistan, Soviet Republics of Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan and Westesn Tian Shan are proposed as the secondary homes of this pulse.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it would be of interest to record chronologically the information on the several uses of *māṣa* in Central Asian countries. Such a study would serve, among other things, to reveal the contribution of India to the diet of the Central Asian people.<sup>62</sup>

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60-61. N.I. Vavilov, *The origin, variation, immunity and breeding of cultivated plants*, (The Ronald Press Co., New York, U.S.A., 1951).

62. The author of this paper would be thankful to his readers for sending him any data, not covered in this note, on the use of *māṣa* in India and abroad which have come to their notice.

## THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

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The influence of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the two national epics of India, on Indian culture and literature is well known. Apart from their impact on Indian life and thought, a considerable part of the early and mediaeval secular and devotional writings of India, in Sanskrit and in the regional languages, are related, directly or indirectly, to these two epics. However, it is highly significant that much the same can be said also with regard to South-East Asia comprising of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Malaya, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

The beginnings of the expansion of Hindu culture into South-East Asia can be traced back to the pre-Christian era. This expansion was not achieved by military expeditions but by peaceful means of trade and religious teaching. The spiritual values inculcated by the emigrant Indians found receptive minds among the indigenous population and, on that account, permeated deep into the life of the people. It is, mainly, for this reason that Hindu literature, tradition and culture survive in South-East Asia in spite of a break in their direct contacts with the mother country from about the 11th-12th century and the social, political and religious cataclysms which overtook the land, ending ultimately in the Buddhist, Islamic and Christian predominance of practically the entire area. The influx of Buddhism, though not inimical to Hinduism, did have an inclusive effect in as much as a good deal of the Hindu culture was subordinated and submerged in it and, in the process, lost. The present survivals of Hindu culture in these lands in the form of inscriptions, temples and architectural monuments, on the one hand, and language, literature, customs and manners, on the other, are telling pointers to the deep roots of Hindu culture which lie below the successive superstructures of Buddhism, Islam and, in some areas, of Christianity.

Sanskrit literature was, naturally, taken to the Far East by the Indian emigrants. But, what is surprising is the adaptation and assimila-

tion of that literature in those regions. The large number of stone inscriptions found in Cambodia, Laos, Siam, Vietnam, Java and Borneo, composed either in chaste Sanskrit or in Sanskritised local languages, imply a flourishing state of Sanskrit. Though precious little of the original Sanskrit literature produced in the regions has come down to us, this absence has been greatly offset by the availability of a large number of Sanskrit-based texts in the indigenous languages of the region. And, of Sanskrit texts, the twin epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, especially the former, have exerted the optimum influence, on account of their moving themes, action-oriented plot and dramatic situations.<sup>1</sup>

#### JAVA (YAVA-DVIPA)

Java (*Yavadvīpa*) seems to have been influenced greatly by the *Mahābhārata*. It is associated closely with the legendary traditions, monuments, architecture, literature and, even, popular entertainments of the land.

#### Traditions

Ancient traditions of Java connect the very colonisation of the island with the *Mahābhārata*. Aji Saka and his followers who are said to have colonised Java are associated, in one set of legends, with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* who ruled at 'Astina' (Hastinā-pura). Another set of legends speak of a Javanese principality named 'Astina' which was ruled over by 'Palāsara' (Parāśara), being succeeded by his son 'Abiāsa' (Vyāsa) who was succeeded by his son 'Pāṇḍu-Deva Nātha' (Pāṇḍu).<sup>1a</sup>

The close association of the Pāṇḍavas with early Java is demonstrated in the monuments found in the Dieng Plateau situated in Central Java, at a height of 6500 ft., which is literally strewn with historical relics of a prosperous settlement. These include more than twenty tomb-temples,<sup>2</sup> which have been dated to about the 8th cent.

1. See R.C. Majumdar, 'The Indian epics in Indo-China', *Indian Hist. Quarterly* 22 (1946) 220-22; 'Indo-Javanese literature', *Indian Culture*, 1 (1934-35) 31-50.

1a. Cf., R. C. Majumdar, *Early Hindu colonies in the Far East*, (2nd edn., Calcutta, 1963), p. 21.

2. These are called, in Javanese, *Chandi*, a term which combines in itself the idea of ancestor-worship with that of a god residing on a mountain.

A.D.<sup>3</sup> Eight of the temples are, more or less, well preserved. Among these temples are those dedicated to Pāñḍudeva (Pāñḍu), Bhima-Werkodaro (Bhīma-Vṛkodara), Arjuna, Dorowati (Draupadi), Semar (?), Srikanṭi (Śikhaṇḍi?) and Sembodoro (?). On the summit of the nearby Prahoe mountain, there is a heap of stones, which local tradition identifies with the funeral pyre of Pāñḍu.<sup>4</sup> There are also other places in Java which legends describe as the location of some of the events and incidents in the *Mahābhārata*.

### Bas-reliefs

Prambanan in Central Java, which, according to local tradition, was once the capital of that region, has a large temple-complex known as *Chandi Lara Jongrang group*. These temples belong to the 9th century and include both Hindu and Buddhist shrines. On the inner side of the walls of the Hindu temples are carved beautiful bas-reliefs, those found in the Śiva temple portraying the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and those in the Viṣṇu temple, that of Kṛṣṇa, both of which form splendid representations wrought in the orthodox Indian style. Bas-reliefs are found also in the temple complex at Panataran (13th-14th cent.), which forms the greatest Hindu monument in East Java. In the main temple here, (built in A.D. 1369), of which three main terraces still remain, the second terrace contains continuous series of bas-reliefs illustrating the story of Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa*), whereas the story of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇāyana*) is depicted elsewhere. The figures of the Panataran bas-reliefs is similar to those in Javanese shadow-play, as contrasted to the earlier Prambanan reliefs, which are clearly Indian in style.

### Literature

One of the earliest literary productions of Java is an extensive prose rendering, into Old-Javanese, of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* undertaken during the reign of king Dharmavamśa who ruled over

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The progenitor of a dynasty or the first king of a line is identified with the god of the mountain and worshipped as such in a *Chandi*. See Buddha Prakash, *India and the world*, (Hoshiarpur, 1964), p. 23.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies*, *ibid.*, p. 104.

4. Swami Sadananda, *Hindu culture in Greater India*, (Delhi, 1949), pp. 36-37.

East Java during the 9th-10th century A.D.<sup>5</sup> The different sections of the work have been done by different scholars. Manuscripts of some of the *parvans* have yet to be recovered. Among the *parvans* that are available are: *Ādi*, *Udyoga*, *Virāṭa*, *Bhīṣma*, *Āśramavāsa*, *Mośala*, *Prāsthānika* and *Svargārohaṇa*.<sup>6</sup> The *Bhagavad-Gītā* is available separately.<sup>7</sup> Though these renderings are not of a high order, their importance lies in their making the *Mahābhārata* popular in the land and thereby supplying themes for a type of shorter poem of high literary merit, known as *Kakawin* (*kāvya*), composed in Sanskrit metres and using a mixed language which came to be designated as the *Kavi* dialect.

A very popular work in Old-Javanese based on a *Mahābhārata* theme is the *Arjuna-vivāha* by poet Kaṇva who wrote under the patronage of the famous king Airlanga (A. D. 1019-42). It describes an episode from the *Vanaparvan*, in which Arjuna helps the God Indra to subdue the demon Nivātakavaca.<sup>8</sup> This work is available also in a New-Javanese rendering in vernacular metres.<sup>9</sup> Another Old-Javanese poem is *Kṛṣṇāyana* by poet Triguṇa who was patronised by king Jayavarṣadigjaya Śāstraprabhu who ruled over the

5. For a comparative analysis of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* with the several Indian versions, See *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, (TBG), 49 (1901) 289-357. For their general nature see J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, (Nagpur, 1952), pp. 113-15.

6. Several of these *parvans* have been edited and some also translated into Dutch: *Ādiparvan*, ed. H.H. Juynboll, (The Hague, 1906); *Virāṭaparvan*, ed. Juynboll, (The Hague, 1912); *Āśrama*, *Mośala* and *Prāsthānika* *parvans*, ed. with trans. by Juynboll (*Drie boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahābhārata*, Leyden, 1893). For *Udyogaparvan*, H. H. Juynboll, 'De verhouding van het Oudjavaansche *Udyogaparva* tot zijn Sanskrt-origineel, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsche Indie*, Koninklijk Instituut, The Hague, (BKI), 69 (1914), 219-96.

7. On this see, J. Gonda, 'Javanese version of the *Bhagavadgītā*', TBG 75 (1935) 36 ff.

8. Ed. by R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 'Arjuna-Wiwāha—text en vertaling', BKI 82 (1926) 181-305.

9. Ed. by J.F.C. Gricke, 'Wiwoho of Mintorogo,' *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia-Jakarta, (VBG) 20 (1844).

kingdom of Kadiri in West Java in A. D. 1104.<sup>10</sup> The work deals with the marriage (*svayāṁvara*) of the Vidarbha princess Rukmiṇī with Lord Kṛṣṇa, after the defeat of Jarāsandha and a host of other suitors.<sup>11</sup> This work is important in its having supplied the themes to the sculptural reliefs referred to above in the Hindu temple at Panataran in Eastern Java. The famous *Bhārata-yuddha* was commenced by poet Sedah during the reign of king Jayabhaya of Kadiri (c.1135-57) and was completed by poet Panuluh, presumably during the reign of the same king. This work presents, in epic style, a full-fledged account of the Kurukṣetra war, taking relevant material from the later *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>12</sup> Panuluh has produced a poem entitled *Harivaiṁśa*,<sup>13</sup> dealing with certain anecdotes, taken from the Sanskrit *Harivaiṁśa*, in the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, including his wooing of Rukmiṇī. Still another work of this author is *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, a poem which narrates the marriage of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna.<sup>14</sup> *Kṛṣṇāntaka*, a poem dealing with the death of Lord Kṛṣṇa takes its material from the last *parva* of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>15</sup> There are two different poems, both entitled *Pārthavijaya*, one of which deals with the story of Arjuna's penance and the procurement of the Pāśupata-astra from God Śiva,<sup>16</sup> and the other with the death of Irāvān, son of Arjuna.<sup>17</sup> Among poems on *Mahābhārata* themes which are known only from references are: *Arjunavivāha* by Kano, *Pārthavijaya* by Vidyātmaka and *Pāṇḍavavīra* by Sdah, all produced in the 11th century A. D.<sup>18</sup> and *Pārthayajña*, on another Arjuna episode.<sup>18a</sup>

10. See R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies*, *ibid.*, p. 51.

11. For ms. and contents, see Juynboll, *Sup. op. den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Mad. handschriften der Leidsche Univ. Bib.*, Leiden, 2 vols., 1907, 1911), (*Sup. Cata.*), I, p. 156. See also *TBG* 57 (1915) 227-40.

12. Ed. J. G. H. Gunning, (The Hague, 1903). This work has also a New-Javanese version entitled *Brata-Joeda*, ed. by A.B. Cohen Stuart, *VBG* 27-28 (1860).

13. For MSS., see *Sup. Cata.*, I, pp. 143-44.

14. For ms., see *Sup. Cata.*, I, pp. 149-50.

15. For ms., see *Sup. Cata.*, I, p. 155.

16. For ms., see *Sup. Cata.*, I, p. 140.

17. For. ms., see *Sup. Cata.*, II, p. 493.

18. These are found enumerated in two early histories of Javanese Kakawin literature, viz., *Prastuti Ning Kakawin* (ms., *Sup. Cata.*, II, p. 286) and *Wavatekan* (ms., *Sup. Cata.*, II, p. 287).

18a. On this see Poerbatjaraka, *TBG* 58 (1918) 380-90.

There are several poems, a few in Old-Javanese and many more in New-Javanese, in which new turns are given to *Mahābhārata* themes and new episodes concocted, with the *Mahābhārata* heroes as characters. Among these may be mentioned: *Koravāśrama* wherein Vyāsa brings to life the Kaurava brothers who had been killed in the Kurukṣetra war and, who on the advice of Bhīṣma, take to penance in order to revenge themselves on the Pāṇḍavas;<sup>19</sup> a work entitled *Navaruci* by Śivamūrti in which some new exploits of Bhīma are described,<sup>20</sup> and another work on the self-same theme, entitled *Devaruci*.<sup>21</sup>

Several of the Old-Javanese *Kakawins*, which, as noted earlier, are in Sanskrit metres and abound in Sanskrit words, have been redacted into Middle and New Javanese in local metres and with extensive innovations: this type of literature is known as *Kidung*. Among *Kidung*-works based on the *Mahābhārata* may be mentioned, *Ādiparva*, *Koravāśrama*, *Navaruci*,<sup>22</sup> *Bhīmasūci*,<sup>23</sup> *Bhīmasvarga*,<sup>24</sup> *Śrī Tañjung*,<sup>25</sup> *Sudamala*<sup>26</sup> and *Kuntiyajña*.<sup>27</sup> Still another interesting work of the *kidung* class, which takes its theme from the *Mahābhārata* is *Sang Sātyavān*, where a Javanese version of the great devotion of princess Suvistri (Sāvitri), 'daughter of Yayāti and Devayāni', for her husband Satyavān, is depicted.<sup>27a</sup>

Among Sanskrit anthologies of Java, with Old Javanese exposition in prose, the *Sārasamuccaya*, is noteworthy. It is a compendium of 517 lofty verses, most of which are taken from the *Āranyaka*,

19. For study on this work, see J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawacrama*, (Ph. D. Thesis, Leiden, 1936), Mees, Santpoort, 1936.

20. For mss., see *Sup. Cata.*, II, p. 292.

21. For mss., see *ibid.*, I. p. 165.

22. For mss., see *Ibid.*, I. 236-37.

23. This is another redaction of the Old-Javanese *Navaruci*.

24. For mss., see *Sup. Cata.*, I. 267.

25. For mss., see *ibid.*, pp. 259-61.

26. For mss., see *ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

27. For mss., see *ibid.*, p. 226.

27a. For ms. see *ibid.*, p. 270.

*Udyoga*, *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*. The preamble found in the Old-Javanese exposition states that the work was "compiled by Poet Vararuci from the 18-*parvan* *Mahābhārata* of Bhagavān Vyāsa."<sup>28</sup>

### Shadow Plays

The highly popular Shadow Plays, making use of puppets cut out of leather which is made translucent by beating it out thin, and later ornamented with coloured glass and beads, indicate the extent to which Indian epics catered to mass entertainment in Java and the neighbouring regions. The colourful performances, which, often, last through whole nights, are watched with rapturous delight and profound attention by the spectators.

"The Javanese puppet shows, known as the *wayang*, have preserved the old Hindu traditions even now, when Java has been a Muhammadan country for more than five centuries.<sup>29</sup> The performer, who is called the *dalang*, manipulates, by means of strings, the movements of the puppets and makes their shadows fall on a screen. The performance is accompanied by the Javanese orchestra which is known by the name of the *gamelan*. The puppets represent the figures of the heroes and the heroines of the Indian epics. Convention has fixed the size, the appearance, the colour and the ornaments of each of the figures.

"From the very beginning, however, old Malay-Polynesian myths mingled with the Indian traditions. And, during the period 1500 to 1758, when the Muhammadan conquest was followed by devastating wars, the old Hindu associations receded into the background. When, therefore, about the middle of the eighteenth century there was a Javanese renaissance, interest in the old times revived and energetic attempts were made to recover the Hindu literature. But the *Kavi* or Old Javanese language could be read but imperfectly

28. This work, which is different from the law-book of the same name, has been critically edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes by Raghu Vira, Delhi, 1962.

29. Even the birthday of prophet Muhammad (the Mawlid) is celebrated with Puppet Shows on the *Mahābhārata* theme. Cf., Buddha Prakash, *India and the world*, *ibid.*, p. 23.

at this time. Thus, strange mistakes crept into the texts which were written in this period though they were based on Old Javanese texts which were still available in the eighteenth century. Lastly, the *dalang* (the performer of the shadow-plays) himself introduced changes as he was continuously adapting the old stories to the environments of the day in order to make his representations more popular.

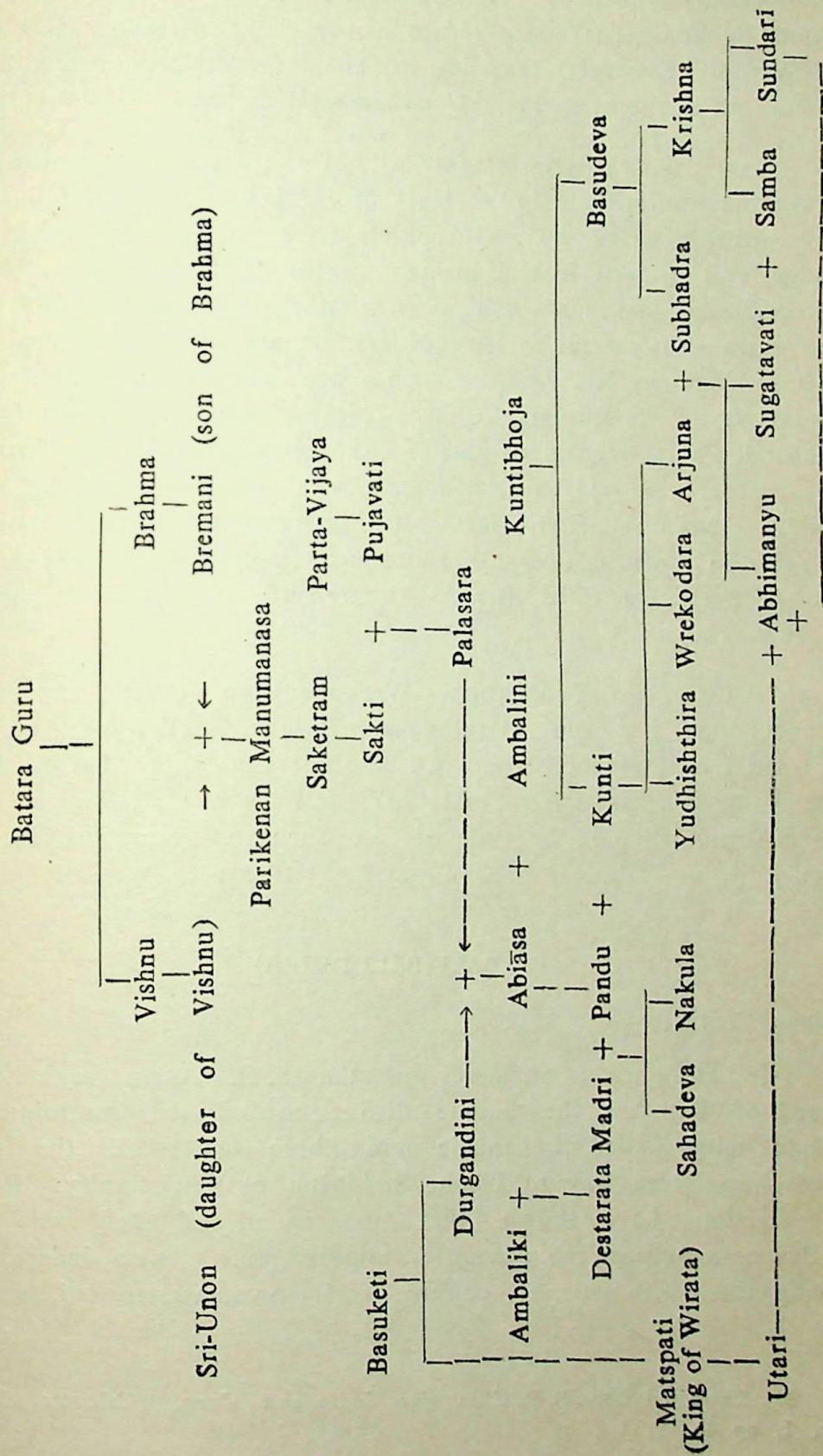
"The *dalang*, while performing the show, generally looks to *lakons* or short dramatic sketches to refresh his memory. He also improvises on the spur of the moment to suit the taste of the audience. There are some larger texts besides these *lakons*.

"These short dramas are divided into four groups: (1) Stories of gods, giants and the origin of heroes, generally taken from the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*. In these stories is mingled a considerable element of Malay-Polynesian legends. (2) The Arjuna Sahana Bahu group. (3) The *lakons* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. (4) The last and the most important group deals with the adventures of the Pāṇḍavas and Yādavas.

"About 150 *lakons* are based on the *Mahābhārata*. Eight of them, the *Vishnur-Krama*, *Bambang-Kalinga*, *Palasara-Rabi*, etc., describe the ancestors of the Pāṇḍavas. From these may be summed up the following genealogical outline. (See opposite page.)

"In the *Mahābhārata* the wanderings of the Pāṇḍavas begin after the *Jatugrha* adventure. Then, Yudhiṣṭhira is crowned king at Indraprastha. After that comes the game of dice, followed by further wanderings and, then, the Pāṇḍavas live in disguise at the court of king Virāṭa. Hostilities commence at Kurukṣetra with the reappearance of the Pāṇḍavas in public.

"The Javanese *lakons* do not always follow the original. According to their version, a game of chess is played in the *Jatugrha* itself, and during the game the Pāṇḍava brothers are given poisoned drinks. Bhīma (Brata Sena in Javanese) alone retains his senses and removes his brothers from the burning house. Then, after long wanderings, the brothers reach the country called Wirata. When they make themselves known at last to King Matsyapati of Wirata, they receive, as a present from their host, the realm of Ngamarta (Indraprastha). Draupadi's *svayamvāra* takes place at this period.



"Meanwhile, Sujudana (Duryodhana) becomes very powerful at Ngastina (Hastina). The Pāñdavas are driven out of their capital by him. They seek refuge at the court of King Matsyapati of Wirata. Even Krishna has to abandon his capital Dvārāvatī. Then follows the Brata-Yuda (*Bhārata-yuddha*).

"Arjuna is the greatest favourite of the Javanese audience. He plays the leading role in at least fifty *lakons*. At the outset of his career, however, by a disreputable trick he gets rid of his rival Palgu-Nadi, who is also a brilliant pupil of Drona. His wooing of Subhadrā and his combats with other aspirants to her hand are narrated in several *lakons*. Numerous are his other adventures and love affairs. His Javanese names are also numerous: Permade, Endralaya, Parta-Kusuma, Chakra-Nagara, etc. In some *lakons* Śikhaṇḍī is represented as one of the wives of Arjuna. Two of his sons are married to two daughters of Krishna. On the other hand, Arjuna's daughter Sugatavati is given in marriage to Krishna's son Sāmba. These (and other) descendants of Krishna and Arjuna are supposed to have founded some of the princely houses of Java.

"Punta-deva, Yudhiṣṭhira, Wrekodara or Brata-Sena, Dewi Arimbhi and her son Gaṇotkacha, Sujudana (Duryodhana, an incarnation of Daśamukha) are all familiar names in Muslim Java. Indeed, custom prescribes that such and such a *lakon* of the *Mahābhārata* should be played on such an occasion in the family."<sup>30</sup>

#### BALI (BĀLI-DVIPA)

##### Indian Contacts

Of all ancient kingdoms of the S. E. Asian region, the island of Bali has the unique distinction of still retaining the Hindu religion and Indianistic atmosphere while all the other areas have given way to Islam, Buddhism or Christianity. Recent investigations have shown that the island of Bali was not a Javanese outpost, as generally supposed, but was an independent Hindu colony with a distinct culture of its own, as attested, among

30. Extracted from B. R. Chatterjee, *India and Java*, (Calcutta, 1933), Pt. I, pp. 48-50.

other indications, by early inscriptions in Old-Balinese as opposed to Old-Javanese. An abundance of Sanskrit words has become part and parcel of the Balinese language.<sup>30a</sup> Hindu culture reached Bali direct from India, towards the beginning of the Christian era and developed there, side by side with other nearby regions.<sup>31</sup> When, towards the close of the 15th century, Java was overrun by Islam, all those who would not be converted to the new faith moved to Bali, not only with their kith and kin, but with their literary lore. In fact, much of the extant Old-Javanese works are now preserved in Bali. More than this, these emigrants evolved a literary style known as *Middle-Javanese*, in which they continued their literary outpourings, alongside in Balinese, which was the local language.

### Mahābhārata Literature

A pilot survey of the literature preserved in Bali, published in 1929, contains as many as 1035 entries, which include a large number of works related to the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>32</sup> Following the pattern of Old-Javanese, these works also fall under different categories like *Parvan* (prose redactions), *Kakawin* (poem in Sanskrit metres) and *Kidung* (poem in indigenous metres). The prose works include: *Ādiparva*, *Sabhāparva*, *Virāṭaparva*, *Mosalaparva*, *Vana-vāsaparva*, *Prāsthānikaparva*, *Āśramavāsaparva*, *Svargārohaṇaparva* and *Harivaiṁśa*. Among the *Kakawins* and *Kidungs* are: *Bhāratavaiṁśatattva*, *Pāñḍavavivāha*, *Arjunavijaya*, *Arjunavivāha*, *Pārthavijaya*, *Subhadrāvivāha*, *Abhimanyuvivāha*, *Arjunapramāda*, *Vijayāśraya*, *Khāṇḍavadahana*, *Pārthayajña*, *Pṛthuvijaya*, *Bhaumakāvya*, *Bhārata-yuddha*, *Duryodhanāśrama*, *Kauravāśrama*, *Kauravāśraya*, *Kaurava-prasāda* and *Kṛṣṇakālāntaka*.

It may be noted that many of the above works are regularly expounded and set to dance-drama and puppet shows which form popular items of social convention and mass entertainment among the people of Bali.<sup>32a</sup>

30a. See C. Hooykaas, 'Greater Indian studies', VIJ 3 (1965) 292.

31. See R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies*, *ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

32. *Mededeelingen van de kirtya Liefdrinct-van der Tuuk*, aflev I, (Singharadja, Bali, 1929), pp. 20-40. Some of the works included herein are, possibly, not in Balinese, but in Javanese. The titles of texts related to Indianistic themes have been extracted by Sylvain Levi in his *Sanskrit texts from Bali*, (Baroda, 1933), Introduction, pp. xi-xiii.

32a. See Hooykaas, *ibid.*, 292-93.

## SUMATRA (SUVARNA-DVIPA)

## Inscriptions

There are few relics left today of the rich Hindu culture that flourished during the early centuries of the Christian era in Sumatra which formed the main part of the extensive Śrivijaya empire under the Śailendra dynasty. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact that the kings of that dynasty were more interested in the immediate prosperity of the people through trade and commerce than in raising lasting edifices in the country. Thus, few inscriptions or monuments of importance are to be found here which reflect its cultural history. Neither are manuscripts of texts indicating the prevalence of the Indian epics and other texts that should have been there, once, to be found here. The only reference to *Mahābhārata* is found in a copper-plate inscription where king Balaputradeva, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), is compared, in the matter of renown, to the *Mahābhārata* heroes Yudhiṣṭhīra, Parāśara, Bhimasena, Karṇa and Arjuna :

युधिष्ठिर-पराशर-भीमसेन-कर्ण-ज्युत्तार्जितयशा: समराप्रवीरः ।<sup>33</sup>

## CAMBODIA (KAMBUJA-DEŚA)

## History

The ancient Kambujadeśa, which comprised, besides the present-day Cambodia, also parts of Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam, received its initiation into Indian religion and culture towards the beginning of the Christian era and remained, for more than a millennia, as a bulwark of Hindu culture outside India. The local Khmer language developed a highly Sanskritised general vocabulary, and names of persons, places and a host of other objects are based on their Indian forms.<sup>34</sup> Though no full-fledged works in Sanskrit

33. This inscription issued by Devapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, (ed. and tr. by Hirananda Sastri, *Epigraphia Indica*, 17 (1923-24) 310-24, describes the grant of five villages for the upkeep of a monastery at Nalanda, at the request of the Sumatran king Balaputradeva. See also B.R. Chatterjee (and N. P. Chakravarti), *India and Java*, (Calcutta, 1933), Pt. II, p. 50.

34. See Kalyan Kumar Sarkar, *Early Indo-Cambodian contacts—Literary and linguistic*, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1968.

seem to have come down, indigenous literature in the Khmer language is replete with references to the *Vedas*, *Purāṇas*, and other literature including the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>35</sup>

### Inscriptions

A very large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and in Sanskritised Khmer, pertaining to different dates, have been found all over Kambuja.<sup>36</sup> Some of these inscriptions, composed in chaste Sanskrit and set in poetic style, extend to over a few hundred stanzas and look like regular poems.

References to the *Mahābhārata* are met with in many of these inscriptions. Thus, a sixth century inscription records the presentation of a manuscript of *Mahābhārata* to the temple of Tribhuvaneśvara and of the arrangements made by Somaśarman, brother-in-law of the ruling monarch Bhavavarman, for the daily recitation of the epic at the temple.<sup>37</sup>

रामायणपुराणाभ्यामशेषं भारतं ददात् ।  
अकृतावन्वहमच्छेष्यां स च तद्वाचनस्थितिम् ॥

Still another inscription, of the 7th century, records the deposit of a manuscript of the *Śambhavādhyāya* of the *Ādiparvan* :<sup>38</sup>

...स्थितये दत्तं साम्भवपूस्तकम् ।  
भवज्ञानेन निहितं व्याससत्रमिवन्धनम् ॥

In one of the historic inscriptions from Cambodia, the 10th century king Rājendravarman is compared to some of the characters of the *Mahābhārata* :<sup>39</sup>

35. Cf., B.N. Puri, *Sudūrapūrvā men bhāratīya-Saṃskṛti aur uskā vikās*, (Prayag, 1962), p. 302.

36. Over 300 of these Sanskrit inscriptions have been edited and translated by R.C. Majumdar in his *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1953.

37. *Ibid.*, No. 13. Veal Kantel inscription of Bhava-varman I, pp. 18-19, verse 4.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 41. Prasāt Prah Thāt inscription, pp. 50-51, verses 1-2.

39. *Ibid.*, No. 97, Pre Rup Stele inscription of Rājendravarman, pp. 232-68, verse 87.

तीव्रार्जुनास्त्रहतभीष्मविपक्षयुद्धो  
योद्धा युधिष्ठिर इवार्कजदीप्तिरोधो ।  
योऽजातशत्रुरिति भीमगदावर्हन-  
दुर्योधनोरुविनिपातरणावसानः ॥

King Sūryavarman I (1002-1052) is described in one of his inscriptions as highly interested in listening to the recitation of the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>40</sup> Cf. :

पुराण-रामायण-भारतादि-कथाविवक्षामरधामसिन्धुः ।

This king is again described as *bhāratādi-kathā-rataḥ* in another contemporary inscription issued by king Udayādityavarman.<sup>41</sup> An inscription of Jayavīravarman, dated A. D. 928, speaks of his preceptor, Kavīndrapaṇḍita as a great scholar, who, among other things, was a master of *Mahābhārata* :<sup>42</sup>

शब्दार्थगमशास्त्राणि काव्यं भारतविस्तरम् ।  
रामायणं च योऽधीत्य शिष्यानाद्यध्यजीगपत् ॥

Śivasoma, preceptor of an earlier king Indravarman (A. D. 877-894), was an expert in several śāstras and well versed in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>43</sup> Cf.

पुराण-भारताशेष-शैवव्याकरणादिषु ।  
शास्त्रेषु कुशलो योऽसूत् तत्कारक इव स्वयम् ॥

### Bas-reliefs

An effective method adopted in ancient Cambodia, even as in Java, for glorifying and popularising, among the masses, the stories of the Indian epics and Buddhist tales, was to depict

40. *Ibid.*, No. 149-A, Prasat Saṅkhah inscription of Sūryavarman I, pp. 615-20, verse 11.

41. *Ibid.*, No. 157, Prasat Khna inscription of Udayādityavarman, dated 982, pp. 400-10, verse 56.

42. *Ibid.*, No. 131, Prasat Trapan Run inscription of Jayavīravarman, pp. 331-40, verse 28.

43. *Ibid.*, No. 54, Prasat Kandol Dom (North) inscription of Indravarman, pp. 57-60, verse 42.

these stories in bas-reliefs on temple walls. The Khmer artisans of Kambuja had perfected the technique of carving bas-reliefs on sandstone and granite to such an extent that their handiwork, as found in numerous Cambodian temples, stand out as masterpieces of art. The most renowned among the Cambodian temples is the famous Viṣṇu shrine of Angkor Vat (*Nagara-vāṭa*), built by King Sūryavarman II (1103-45) and situated about a mile from the ancient Cambodian capital of Angkor Thom (*Nagara-dhāma*).<sup>44</sup> Reginald le May, well-known student of South-East Asian architecture, says that "the Great Temple of Angkor dwarfs every other ancient building one is likely to see, and has no compeer for sheer magnificence and richness of decoration."<sup>45</sup> This temple, which is also one of the biggest in the world, is built in three storeys and has long narrow galleries running round each storey. These galleries are supported by stone walls on the backside and a series of sculptured pillars on the open side. The walls are covered with sculptures and a continuous series of panels of exquisitely executed bas-reliefs (which if put together in a line would exceed two miles in length), depicting the story of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaiśa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Among the more beautiful *Mahābhārata* panels is one depicting the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, with the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava hordes, mounted on horses, elephants and chariots, advancing against each other. Another exquisite piece depicts the Kaurava generalissimo Bhīṣma, lying on his death-bed of arrows, attended by both the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava chiefs.

A very interesting inscription of the same King Sūryavarman II refers to the construction by the king of a grand group of three temples where the images of Śiva, Śaḍānana and Gaurī-Mahiṣāsuramardini were installed. It is stated that the entire story of the *Mahābhārata* was carved beautifully on the walls of this temple.<sup>46</sup> Cf. :

44. On Angkor Vat called also *Parama-Viṣṇuloka* and Angkor Thom, see, among other literature, George Groslier, *Angkor*, (Paris, 1924); G. Coedes, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, (Paris, 1947); *Le temple d'Angkor Vat*, (Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Hanoi, 1929-32); and Quaritch Wales, *Towards Angkor*, (London, 1959).

45. Reginald le May, *The culture of South-East Asia*, (Indian edn., Delhi, 1962), p. 93.

46. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, *ibid.*, No. 173, Ban That inscription of Sūryavarman II, pp. 433-55, see p. 454. See P.S. below, p. 246.

विचित्रदल्लीकनविप्रकीणम् क्रष्णप्सरोमण्डलसेव्यमानम् ।  
 प्रोद्यत्त्रिकूटोपममादिमेरोः सौधत्रयं सोऽशत्रयं चकार ॥१॥  
 प्राक्च्छौनकीये किल दीर्घसत्रे पुरातनं सूतगिरैव जन्मः ।  
 तदेव साक्षादिव तत्र कुडचे चित्रैचित्रचित्रे ददशुस्समस्तम् ॥२॥  
 तत्रैशलिङ्गं सषडानन्दार्चमच्चाच्च गौर्या महिषासुरारेः ।  
 .....मखे च स्वयशःप्रतानं संस्थापयामास समं भनीषी ॥४॥

Another temple, called Banteai Srei, built during the early Khmer period (10th cent. A.D.), and situated about fifteen miles north-west of Angkor, has beautifully designed lacy structures in the pediments over the main doorways. Among the episodes depicted in these pediments, there are some from the *Mahābhārata*, such as the story of the heavenly nymph Tilottamā and the demons Sunda and Upasunda.<sup>47</sup>

#### VIETNAM AND LAOS (CHAMPA, ANNAM)

##### Inscriptions

Champa, which was comprised of the present North Vietnam, and parts of South Vietnam and Laos, was a flourishing region of Indo-Cham culture from the 1st century to the 15th century when the country was overrun by Annamites.<sup>48</sup> Successive Hindu kingdoms of Kauṭhāra, Pāñduraṅga (Phanrang) and Vijaya (Bimb-Dimb) ruled in Champa in spite of the constant political struggles arising from several quarters, to wit, Cambodian, Annamite, Chinese and Mongolian. Practically nothing of the early literature that should have been produced in the land has survived the centuries of internal troubles and successive waves of aggression. However the high prevalence of Sanskrit and the knowledge of its literature are reflected in the Sanskritised vocabulary of the region and the number of old inscriptions found scattered throughout the land, including about 130 in the Sanskrit language.<sup>49</sup> These inscriptions

47. See Reginald le May, *ibid.*, p. 128, pl. 20.

48. On Hindu vestiges in Champa, see R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I. Champa, (Lahore, 1927), p. 21; Swami Sadananda, *Hindu culture in greater India*, (Delhi, 1949), pp. 111-26.

49. Ed. with Notes, by R. C. Majumdar, *ibid.*, pt. III.

refer, casually, to several Indian texts including the *Mahābhārata*, indicating the close familiarity which the people had with that epic and suggesting the possibility of local translations and redactions having existed at one time. Thus, king Indravarman of the 8th century is said to equal the *Mahābhārata* hero Arjuna in strength : *Dhanañjaya ivāpratihataparākramah*.<sup>50</sup> King Bhadravarman II of the 9th century is compared to 'the son of Pāṇḍu' : *Campārājādhirājāḥ sa jayati mahasājau yathā Pāṇḍusūnuḥ*.<sup>51</sup> Rudravarman III, again of the 9th century, is equated with Yudhiṣṭhira : *Yudhiṣṭhīro'sau.....Duryodhanādyaiḥ yuyutsuh*.<sup>52</sup>

More interesting than all these, is the construction of a *Kurukṣetra-tīrtha* by a Champa King named Devānika, in the 5th century A. D. A picturesque description of this *tīrtha*, comparing it with other *tīrthas* in India, is contained in a Sanskrit inscription of this king, discovered recently near La Bassac in Laos.<sup>53</sup>

### Architecture

Champa is, even now, studded with Hindu temples and Brahmanic and Buddhistic sculptures, in different states of preservation. The political relationship that existed between Champa and the Chola kings of South India is generally known, but what is not so well known is the close similarity between the architecture of the Cham temples and the rock-cut temples (*Pāṇḍava-rathas*) of Mahabalipuram in South India, especially, the rathas dedicated to Dharmarāja, Arjuna and Draupadi.<sup>54</sup>

### THAILAND (SIAM, YUNNAN, SYĀMADEŚA)

Though Indian contacts by the overland route is known to have commenced with the region comprising of the present Thailand, known

50. *Ibid.*, No. 23. Yang Tikuh stelae inscription of Indravarman I, dated 721 Śaka, p 44-51; see p. 45.

51. *Ibid.*, No. 39, Hoa-Que stelae inscription of Bhadravarman III, dated 831 Śaka, pp. 111-21, verse 17.

52. *Ibid.*, No. 41. The Phu-Luong stelae inscription of Rudravarman III, dated 83- Śaka, pp. 122-5, lines 9-11.

53. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, 'The early history of Kambuja,' *Proc. of the All-India Oriental Conf.*, 20th Session, Bhuvaneswar, Vol. II, Pt. i, 375-81. For the inscription, see G. Coedes, 'La stele de vat Luong Kan près de vat phu,' *Bul. de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, 48 (1956) 209-20.

54. See R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies*, *ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

in Chinese annals as Yunnan, as early as the 2nd century B. C., an independent Hindu kingdom, (Gandhāra or Videharājya) came to be established only in the 8th century. For about 500 years, till A. D. 1253, when Gandhāra was overrun by the Mongol chief Kublai Khan, it was a bulwark of Hindu religion and culture.<sup>55</sup> The Mongolian tribe of Thai which extended its suzerainty by establishing the kingdom of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai), though avowedly Buddhist, was not anti-Hindu. Hindu influence persists in the land even to-day in the Sanskritised language of the country and the customs, and manners of the people.<sup>56</sup> The royal temple in Bangkok has the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* story painted on its walls, though the temple itself is consecrated to Buddha.<sup>57</sup> Under the circumstances, we may naturally expect the *Mahābhārata*, too, to have been popular in the land. Political vicissitudes, however, had had their hand in destroying, among other things, precious literary evidence on the subject. Of the early Sanskrit or Sanskritised literature that should have been produced during the five centuries of prosperous Hindu regime and which should have given us an insight into the matter, nothing has come down to us. Speaking about the holdings of the Vajrayāna Library, being the Manuscripts Section of the National Library of Thailand at Bangkok, Major Erik Seidenfaden says : "The big majority of the manuscripts only date back as far as the latter part of the 18th century, all older documents having perished in the flames when the Burmese invaders wantonly destroyed the old capital of Ayudhya in 1967".<sup>58</sup>

Vestiges of the popularity of the *Mahābhārata* in Thailand is now to be seen only in the popular Shadow Plays, Marionettes and Masked Pantomimes called *Khon*, depicting Indian mythological themes.<sup>59</sup>

55. See R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies*, *ibid.*, pp. 258-60.

56. See Swami Sadananda, *Hindu culture in Greater India*, *ibid.*, pp. 145-53.

57. Cf. Swami Sadananda, *ibid.*, p. 153.

58. *Guide to Bangkok*, (Bangkok, 3rd edition, 1932), p. 191.

59. Among these, *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most popular. For illustrations of some shadow play puppets see Swami Sadananda, *ibid.*, opp. pp 144, 145, 148, 149; and Oscar Botto (Ed.), *Storia della Litterature d'Oriente*, (Milan, 1969), Vol. III, opp. p. 672; and of marionette and masked pantomime, Major Edik Seidenfaden, *ibid.*, pp. 55-62.

## BURMA (BARHINA-DVIPA)

In Burma, Hinduism and Buddhism held sway from the early centuries of the Christian era,<sup>60</sup> though, however, Buddhism prevailed. Little of early Brahmanic literature that might have been produced in the wake of the early Hindu influence is available now, making it difficult to say anything definite about the currency and popularity of *Mahābhārata* in Burma.

## MALAYA

The geographical location of Malaya at the gateway to the S.E. Asian countries by sea, either from Bengal or from South India, substantiates the view that "the Malaya peninsula must have had the earliest Indian settlements."<sup>61</sup> Early Malayan literature has been closely related to its Old-Javanese counterpart and it has been presumed that, following Javanese translations of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, "probably there were old Malay translations, too."<sup>62</sup> The Malayan poem *Hikayat Sang Boma* is derived from the Old-Javanese Kakawin *Bhomakāṇya* and the *Hikayat Perang Pāṇḍawa* is derived from the Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*. The *Mahābhārata* hero Arjuna is a popular favourite. Malayan theatre, including shadow-plays, which present local versions of episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, have also been highly influenced by their Javanese counterparts.<sup>63</sup>

## CONCLUSION

If it was close cultural contacts and the furnishing of themes for literary productions that sustained the Indian epics in the S.E. Asian countries in the early stages, what sustained them, especially

60. On Brahmanic antiquities excavated from Hmawaza, Mergui and Arakan in Burma, see Reginald le May, *The culture of South East Asia*, (Delhi, 1962), pp. 19-20.

61. J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, (Nagpur, 1952), p. 19.

62. R. Winstedt, 'Indian influence in the Malay world', *JRAS* 1944, pp. 186-97, (see esp. p. 191).

63. Cf., Andries Teeuw, 'Letteratura Malese-Indonesiana', pp. 771-860 (see p. 819), in *Storia delle Letterature d'Oriente*, ed. by Oscar Botto, (Milan, Italy, 1969), Vol. III.

in regions like Java and Bali, during the later stages, was the adoption of epic themes in folk dance and drama. In these regions the puppet-show and the masked pantomime were not merely popular entertainments but were engrained in the social customs and rituals of the people. Thus, episodes from the *Ādiparvan* were to be recited on occasions of death and poems like *Arjunavivāha* recited and enacted during marriages and festive occasions. These customs cut across religion and social strata and were applicable to all, Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim, rich or poor. And, this aspect of it is mainly responsible for keeping alive, to this day, the Indian epic tradition in those remote lands, in spite of the fact that early cultural contacts had snapped several centuries ago.

*Postscript.* In reply to a query on these temples, Dr. Sachidanand Sahai of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Gaya, informs me, in his letter dated the 6th July, 1970, that the three temples referred to are situated in Ban That itself, where the relevant inscription was found, a place near Vat Phu and about 20 miles to the south-west of Bassac in Laos. The *Mahābhārata* bas-reliefs referred to in the inscription are, however, completely ruined and are no more there. Vide: Jean Boisselier, *L'Archeologie du Cambodge*, p. 379.

## OBITUARY NOTICE

DR. AGARAM VENKATASUBBAIAH

(1886-1969)

*“Full many a flower  
is born to blush unseen.”*

—Thomas Gray

The world of Vedic scholarship has been plunged into great sorrow on the sad demise, in Mysore, of Dr. Agaram Venkatasubbaiah, the well-known Vedic scholar, at the age of eighty-three.

Dr. Venkatasubbaiah was born in May 1886 at Mysore. He had his early education in Mysore and graduated from the University of Mysore. He also pursued the study of Sanskrit in the traditional manner. The happy blend of modern critical acumen and the traditional learning of Sanskrit imbibed by the young Venkatasubbaiah enabled him to pursue higher studies and win the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Berne University (Germany), for a comprehensive thesis on *Kalās*, the 64 traditional arts of ancient India. Soon after his return to India, Dr. Venkatasubbaiah first served the Central Hindu College at Varanasi as Professor of Indian History and later joined the Archaeological Department of the Mysore Government. Subsequently, he resigned his official post and devoted his entire time for Vedic and other researches.

Dr. Venkatasubbaiah led a saintly life and had an unassuming personality. He was an eminent Orientalist whose studies were not confined merely to Vedic research, as presumed by some scholars, but also to other branches of Indology as evidenced by his multifarious writings. He was an authority on Indian fable literature, especially on the *Pañcatantra*. Even at his ripe age he showed the enthusiasm of a young man so far as learning was concerned. His literary activities were not within the four walls of his house only. He used to visit frequently the libraries in Mysore to keep himself in touch with the current advances on Indological researches. He also maintained regular contacts with the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

Dr. Venkatasubbaiah's contribution to the world of learning is considerable. Apart from his Kannada works and learned research papers published in several leading Oriental journals, he has also to his credit standard works such as *Vedic Studies* (two volumes), *Contributions to the interpretation of the Rgveda*, *Kalās*, *Some Śaka dates in Inscriptions*, etc. He was an esteemed contributor to the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, *Journal of Or. Research (Madras)*, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, etc. Several of Venkatasubbaiah's works remain in manuscript form. Their publication is a task left behind by him for his admirers to take up.

It is a matter of gratification to note that one such unpublished work, entitled *Satya-loka in the Rgveda*, has been undertaken for publication by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur.

G. MARULASIDDAIAH  
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## LITERARY REVIEWS

*THE AITAREYA ĀRANYAKA*, Ed. by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Reprint, 1969. Pp. v, 390. Rs. 40.

It is a matter of gratification to students of Vedic studies that the Oxford University Press has brought out a beautiful lithographic reprint of the well-known but long out-of-print edition and translation of the *Aitareya Āranyaka* by A. B. Keith. That even after a lapse of over 60 years since its first publication in 1909, it continues to be the best edition of this important R̥gvedic text bears testimony to the merit of this publication.

The edition is based on 38 manuscripts of the text and its commentaries. Besides a detailed Introduction, in 74 pages, touching upon several points relating to the text, its date, contents, style and grammar, the edition carries eight useful Indexes. An edition of the allied and complementary work, *Śāṅkhāyana Āranyaka*, chs. VII-XV, has been added as an Appendix. The main contribution of Keith, to the publication, is his erudite translation with profuse notes from the comparative and exegetical points of view, taking into full consideration all the ancient commentaries and modern exegeses on the work which were available to him.

While the Introduction, the translation and the notes are uniformly elucidatory and informative, there are points which need to be corrected or where one might disagree with Keith. Actually, much water has flown below the bridge since Keith wrote his work in the first decade of this century and one is in a better position, today, to judge matters like chronology, identification of ancient authors and works, etc., especially on account of the wealth of source-material and the results of more than two generations of investigations in the field now available. Thus, Keith's assertion and marshalling of arguments to the effect that it was the Madhva-Ānandatirtha, the founder of Dvaita-vedānta, that commented on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣyas* on the *Aitareya*, *Praśna*, *Īśa* and other Upaniṣads (see Intro., pp. 11-13) is an error of identification. Śaṅkara's commentator was Ānandagiri, a prolific writer on the Advaita-vedānta. Keith runs also into chrono-

logical conundrums on account of the said identification (see p. 125).

There cannot be any doubt about the undesirability of continuing to propagate, under any distinguished authorship, such disproved views; their retention anywhere can only be for historic interest. It should engage the consideration of publishers of lithographic reprints of old books—an activity which is highly on the increase during recent years—in the interest of knowledge and scholarship, whether such old writings should not be scrutinized by competent authorities before publication and disproved statements and outmoded ideas be pointed out and essential corrections offered through editorial notes with bibliographical references, added as an appendix to the publication. This method would enable the book to preserve its original identity, and, at the same time, to bring the publication up to date.

The term *āranyaka* has been taken by Keith, following some ancient and modern commentators, as "a book of instruction to be given in the forest" (Intro., p. 16). Actually, the Āraṇyakas have nothing more to do with forests than any of the other sections of Vedic literature. In fact, some Upaniṣads form part of the Āraṇyakas, as in the case of the present work, where its Sn. 2, chs. 4-6, form the *Aitareyopaniṣad*, and Sn. 3, chs. 1-2, form the *Saṅhitopaniṣad*. Again, regular Brāhmaṇic topics form part of Āraṇyakas, as well, for which, too, our Āraṇyaka is an example (cf., *ĀA*, Sn. 1, chs. 1-5, description of *Mahāvrata* from the ritualistic and allegorical points of view, a subject which is purely Brāhmaṇic in nature and which has been more briefly noted in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3. 1-38 and 4. 14). We may refer, in this connection, to the rational interpretation of the term given by Acharya Vishva Bandhu as "supplementary appendages (<ārambhaṇa 'cling') to the Brāhmaṇas." (See his *Vedas and Śāstras: A general view*, p. 7).

All thanks are due to the OUP for issuing the present reprint, but what intrigues this reviewer is the reason why the publishers should price so highly a mere lithographic reprint of one of their own earlier publications. One might recall, here, the warm appreciation and very favourable reception accorded by readers to the cheap reprint editions, by the OUP, of A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Reader* and *Vedic grammar for students*. The OUP will be putting students of Indology to further indebtedness by bringing out similar cheap

reprints of their other important publications on Indic subjects which are long out of print.

K. V. SARMA

*THE VEDIC PRAYERS*, By Vidyanand 'Videh', Translated from Hindi by Brij Bhushan Hajela. Veda-Samsthan, Ajmer, 1961. Pp. vi, 108. Rs. 2.

The exposition of Vedic mantras and ancient Indian culture by Swami Vidyanand 'Videh', an inspired saint and speaker of modern India, settled in Ajmer, is not new to Hindi readers. Even the present work, being his exposition of 52 select Vedic mantras, appeared first in Hindi under the title '*Gāyatrī*'. An English version of the work, by a devoted disciple of the Swami, is offered here for the propagation, in a wider field, of the teachings embodied in the *Gāyatrī*.

Each of the selected prayers, all of them of the self-contained type and taken from the *Rgveda*, breathes out some noble thought, grand idea or ardent wish. The author provides the selections with a translation which is, however, more free than literal. His main contribution is the page-long preamble which he supplies to each mantra. These preambles form his exposition of the eternal truths and worldly wisdom which he reads in the respective Vedic verses. The translation and exposition might not always meet with the approval of the textual student of the Veda or the linguist, but its appeal to the general cultured reader, for whom the book is primarily intended, cannot be denied.

K. V. SARMA

*SOME ASPECTS OF INDO-ARYAN LINGUISTICS*, By M. A. Mehendale. University of Bombay, Bombay, 1968. Pp. xi, 123. Rs. 15.

### I. Introductory

For years and years, the present reviewer has been a very close student of the writings of Dr. M.A. Mehdale, vice

very wide intellectual horizon, an amazing mastery of details and an admirable tendency to dig down to the root of things have ever been an exciting attraction for him. The work reviewed here would certainly meet the expectations of the reader in several respects, as some of the following data will show.

## II. Scope of the work

The present work consists of six lectures delivered in the series entitled *Wilson Philological Lectures*, being devoted to some aspects of Indo-Aryan, particularly Vedic, Middle Indo-Aryan and Modern Indo-Aryan, with special reference to Marathi.

## III. Problematic nature of the topics

While this work will be hailed as a refreshing thrill to the historian of India's intellectual life — a historian who is fed up with the hell of India's victimization and text-bookishness ever since the death of Abhinavagupta — he will be struck dumb if he could contemplate what on earth led the promoters of these linguistic studies to select them as a theme for lectures. For, many of the words handled, though very important, are highly problematic, a few examples of which may be shown here :

1. *sāmtāvītavat*, discussed on page 12, which is an attributive word referring to the swift running of a horse, raises a problem whether the word *pūrvayā* used, in this connection, by Yāska refers to reduplication on the correlate corresponding to the verb *tan-*. The question here is more of interpretation than of linguistics, while the word shows absolutely no pattern, so that it is considerably beyond the purview of linguistics. The importance of the word cannot be denied and the penetrative analysis of the word by the author is worthy of appreciation, but the actual question here is : What percentage of the audience could follow or appreciate this treatment ?

2. On page 38, effort has been made to show that Pali *va sayati*, a corrupt form, can be explained, if the original canon read *sa vayati*, and if, on the basis of *Udānavarga*, the form *sa vrajati* be accepted. This is no doubt interesting, but is a lecture the proper medium when various readings are to be discussed ?

3. On page 47, -*se* in Pali *viyapatāse* is stated to have been interpreted by various authorities as a pronominal form or verbal

form, the pronominal form being alleged to have been borrowed from the Eastern language. Now, could such presentation help the judgment of the audience in the lecture-hall? For, Webster defines a lecture as "a formal or methodical discourse intended for instruction". How is this instruction possible without clear judgment, and how is judgment possible if sufficient time is not given to the learner to consult the relative sources?

#### IV. A masterpiece of presentation

But, inspite of the difficulties which the lecture-method created for the proper treatment of the subject, it is refreshing to discern that the author's presentation of 'Some features of the *Bhāṣā* of the period of the Brāhmaṇa texts and that of Yāska' (pp. 17-33) is a masterpiece, handling the problem with an unsurpassed thoroughness. Cf., for instance, pp. 24-25, where the thematisation of root-nouns in the Brāhmaṇa's language has been presented by Yāska: Cf., e.g., (1) *saindrś* > *saindarśana*. (2) The comparative *-īyas* suffix, used in the Brāhmaṇa's language, when the sense is of an agent noun, first leads the stem to be changed into nouns with *tr-* suffixes and then *tara-* and *tama-* are added to the stem, e.g. *yajīyas-* of the Brāhmaṇa is replaced by *yaṣṭr-tara* in Yāska's language.

#### V. Dialectical traces in Vedic pronunciation

How life-like the author's presentation of Vedic pronunciation is, will be attested by his citation, on page 20, of a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which shows that certain grades of society pronounced the word *śarma*, while others pronounced it *carma*, the former being graded higher and said to be associated "with the Gods", the latter were allotted "among men". That these dialectical diversities were continued even during the Middle Indo-Aryan period has been shown by the author on page 58, on the authority of Lueders; e.g., Ashokan Pillar Edicts have *caganthi* 'will be able', connected with the alternative base *śak-*.

#### VI. Penetrative appreciation of usage

The modernity of the author's approach strikes us as particularly fascinating when he handles his linguistic material from the stylistic point of view, as the following data will show:

1. *dad-* in the utterance *Akrūro dadate maṇim* has been stated by Yāska to mean *dharayati* (p. 11). What should this

verb mean here? It could mean 'to hold', in view of the actual legend about Akrūra in this connection, as happily explained by the author. It could mean 'holds in trust for the people'.

2. On page 19, the author has shown how 'going away from' was rendered as *pragam-* during the earlier epochs of the Vedic period, while the Brāhmaṇa uses *pra i-* and *pra cyav-* in the same sense.

## VII. The treatment of a phase of Middle Indo-Aryan

The author's enormous efforts only on a single point in Middle Indo-Aryan will evoke the attentive reader's admiration for the intensity of his linguistic discipline.

The German scholar Lueders had assumed that the Pali Buddhistic texts were actually a translation from an original canon composed in an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. In arriving at this conclusion he received considerable support from the later discovered Sanskrit text of the *Udānavarga*. Now, the author, on page 60, expresses his agreement with Lueders; he differs only in the treatment of Sanskrit inter-vocalic stops. He is of the opinion that the Eastern dialect had a tendency to maintain the voiceless nature of Sanskrit stops. Thus, Pali *akalu-* for *agalu-* was a borrowing from an Eastern language (page 61, second para). To substantiate his view, he has adduced evidence from the Minor Edicts of Asoka in the Eastern region. Now, some of the readers may consider such matters to be of very minor importance, but to experts in Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics such issues are very basic indeed; e.g., A. M. Ghatage has pointed out that "the real problem of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics is to disentangle all such problems" (*Historical linguistics and Indo-Aryan*, p. 130).

In this connection, however, it is desirable to take into account the fact that both Lueders and our author had to depend only on external evidence, viz., the inscriptions of Asoka, for their conclusion. But how the graphic presentation by untrained scribes is dependable, will be eloquently clear from the following quotation from Hultzsch, cited by our author on page 254 of his paper, 'A comparative grammar of Asokan inscriptions': "In the majority of instances *s* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible. To explain the state of matters, we have to suppose

that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *s*, and that he used *ś* and *ṣ* indiscriminately for expressing the name sibilant *s*. In other words, the letters *ś* and *ṣ* are purely graphical." Consequently, the dependability of such material for scientific precision is somewhat parallel to the linguistic material offered by Grierson's *Survey*, so that finality in such topics will be out of the question.

### VIII. The limitations of standardised literary MIA

It is desirable, however, to evaluate carefully the exact role of Pali, as a literary language, in the promulgation of Buddhism. That the communication of religious ideas is effectively produced by an established literary language is undeniable, but even greater is the effect sometimes produced by non-literary languages. Now, the fact is that what the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* calls "Primary Prakrits" (14 edition, article 'Prakrit languages', p. 416), "as vernaculars reached a secondary stage marked by a tendency to simplify harsh combinations of consonants, were also used side by side with (literary) Pali during certain periods of Buddhism." This is eloquently proved by P. C. Bagchi's thrilling article, 'Śulika, Culika and Cūlikā Paiśāci', (*J. Deptt. of Letters*, Calcutta, vol. 21, 1930). He says on page 7: "Sogdians had a role in the transmission of Buddhism to China. Buddhists were received in their country already in the 1st century B.C., and it was from there that Buddhism and Buddhist texts first introduced to China." These texts were not couched in stereotyped and routinized literary Pali, but in a 'Primary Prakrit' mentioned above.

### IX. Internal reconstruction as applied to Indo-Aryan languages

The section entitled 'Internal reconstruction' (pp. 78-104) is the most solid portion of the author's contribution. The solidity lies, not in the results achieved, but in the tenacious integrity with which he has discarded the comparative method, as his lengthy correspondence (pp. 96 ff.) with established authorities on the subject would clearly show.

It may not be known to many that Descriptive Linguistics has substituted Reconstruction for Etymology, which mainly uses the comparative method. Now, Descriptive Linguistics basically starts with the synchronic approach, as Hockett explains: "Either diachronic or contrastive analysis involves prior synchronic analysis.

In this sense, description is logically prior to history." (*Readings in Linguistics*, 1960, p. 283). With such a basis, the use of the comparative method will be out of the question.

That the purpose of reconstruction is mainly symbolic, being somewhat similar to Pāṇini's approach, will be evident from the following illuminating observation by W.F. Twaddell: "The normal purpose of reconstruction is to establish a single formula which can be regarded as a starting point for subsequent evolutions. This purpose involves necessarily an emphasis on simplicity and an intentional neglect of non-uniformities. A successful reconstruction transcends the several changes; it antedates dialect differences which appear in the sequel languages, and it is a phonemic formula, not a phonemic description." (*Readings in Linguistics*, page 296). 'A phonemic formula' is quite an apt presentation of Reconstruction.

#### X. Is the basis on paradigm a safe condition for IR?

On p. 81, in connection with the correlation of *vāk* and *vācā*, the author says: "But when we have the same alternation in *vāk* and *vācā*, the problem can be solved on the basis of internal evidence alone. This kind of reconstruction based on a paradigm is known as IR." The question arises, could a mere paradigm give us the guarantee of expected forms? Is it not rather "the type of phonetically conditioned automatic alternation" (p. 87) that ultimately reveals the phonological controlling principles?

#### XI. Conclusion

The above data, it may be presumed, will give us the following points:

1. This work is an intellectual adventure of a very high order, involving a penetrating conspectus of some of the controlling principles of Indo-Aryan linguistics.
2. But the sanctity of the topics handled in the work has been considerably disregarded by the cofinement of the presentation to lectures. The proper method was the one adopted by the Aristotelian Society in the twenties of this century, consisting of a system of reciprocal exchange of written communications by experts in the subject.

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*NIRUKTA-MIMĀMSĀ*, by Shiv Narayan Shastri, Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit, K.M. College, Delhi. S. 2026. Rs. 25.

### I. Introductory

This book is a double-barrelled gun, for it functions not only as a solid contribution to Hindi Literature, but also to Vedic Sanskrit : (1) That a book in Hindi should contain a very exhaustive survey of Vedic particles, being calculated as 127 (pp. 191-2), 56 being initially accented, the remaining being non-accented, indicates a hopeful expansion of Hindi literature. (2) Though overtly a commentary on Yāska's *Nirukta*, it is much more than that : it indicates a profound Vedic scholarship in general achievements in interpretation, usage and, above all, in range.

### II. Notable instances of the author's interpretation

(1) On pages 31-32, the author has an able discussion of the two readings of the *Nirukta* text *upalaprakṣīṇī* ; the extended reading is palpably later. Further comments on longer and shorter readings on page 34 show the author's careful and deep reflection on the nature of these readings.

(2) His able interpretation, on pages 111-12, of the *Nirukta* text *vyāptimatvāt tu śabdasya* as an ineffacable acoustic image is worthy of appreciation, but although an honest exposition of an aspect of Sanskrit tradition, it represents only a side of it, for, cf., otherwise, Gautama, *Nyāyadarśana*, 2. 1. 56, *jātivīśeṣe cāniyamāt*, which refutes the imperishable nature of sound.

(3) On p. 199, the author's illuminating explanation of Yāska's text *auddeśikamiva* (1.4) has been construed in the sense of enumeration, which is admirable, although *āgamāt* could be better taken as 'context'.

(4) On p. 201, the author's penetrative analysis of Yāska's view of a suffix as 'senseless' is notable, but possibly Yāska's 'senseless' has been used here only in the sense of a *dyotaka-*, not in the strictly denotative sense.

(5) On pp. 208-9, the author's efforts to interpret *vānas-* as a 'receiver of praise' may perhaps be worthy of appreciation, but *vānas-* in *RV* 10. 172. 1 cited by the author, does not mean 'receiver'

at all, the whole verse : *ā yāhi vānasā, sahā gāvah sacanta vartanīm yādūdhabhīḥ*, being addressed to the dawn, as Sāyaṇa explains it. *vānasā* here means *vānāṇyena tejasā*. Monier-Williams, quoting *this very verse*, renders this *vānas-* as 'loveliness, longing, desire'.

(6) On p. 238, the author tries hard to criticise Skandasvāmin's objection to Durga's interpretation of *yācāmi* as proceeding from *yāmi*, but this discussion is questionable, for Sāyaṇa, commenting on *yāmi* in *RV* 1. 24. 11, states that *īmahe* occurs as equivalent to *yāmi* in the *Nighaṇṭu*. Cf. the *Nighaṇṭu* text, (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, S. 1969, page 241), *īmahe* / *yāmi*..."

(7) The author's eminent combination of common sense with profound scholarship is illustrated on page 267, where he has interpreted a Vedic *devatā*, as the 'subject-matter' of a verse, basing his interpretation not only on the use of the term *devatā* for inanimate objects like pestle and mortar, but also on the basis of the ancient pronouncement by Katyāyana in his *Sarvānukramaṇī* 2. 4. 5 and, moreover, by the *Mīmāṁsā* ruling *prakaraṇāddhi* etc. quoted on page 270.

(8) Very interesting indeed is the author's interpretation of *pratibhā* on page 407, last para, 4th line, which has been rendered as 'transitional phenomenalization', the unmanifested beginning to be directed *towards* the manifest, on the basis of *prati-* 'towards' and *bhā-* 'to appear'.

(9) Last, but not the least, the author has, on page 251, befittingly criticized the gross blunder of the present reviewer in his *Etymologies of Yāska*, page 154, where he rendered *naikapadāni* as 'non-compound words', a very careless rendering indeed, entirely overlooking the penetrating comments made by Durga on this expression. The present reviewer feels personally obliged to the author for the favour of this criticism.

### III. The author's 'glimpse' of usage

But, from the modernist's point of view, the most valuable portion of the author's contribution is his fortunate glimpse of 'usage', a phenomenon only recently dawning upon linguisticians. The science, in connection with which 'usage' has been recently included in linguistic circles, is called 'stylistics', and is considerably

developed in France. 'Usage' is only a portion of this wider subject. Our ancient *Ācāryas* called it *vyavahāra* in certain contexts.

1. *Yāska's theory of etymology—An approach towards usage.* According to the author, Yāska's theory of etymology is strictly different from grammar, for it is said to be based on meaning from various points of view (page 64). For Yāska (2.27) explains the word *āśva-* 'horse' either from *āś-* 'to reach', 'one that reaches a path' (*āśnute adhvānam*) or 'one that eats a lot' *āś-* 'mahāśano *bhavati vā*'.

Now, the text-bookish 'philologists' or 'structuralists' may condemn this theory as 'hyper-subjective', so that *accountability*, a paramount feature of modern linguistic science, will be unthinkable with such an approach. Cf. *Readings in Linguistics*, 1960, p. 235 : "Every morph, and every bit of phonemic material must be determined by (i.e., predictable from) the morpheme and the tagmemes (if any), of which the utterance is composed."

Thus, predictability being the umpire of adjudging the etymology of a word, according to linguistic science, then, if etymology is defined on the basis of grammatical structure, it will be hopeless to expect a derivation of *āśvah*, for no one could predict by the mere perception of the word *āśvah*, that it would have a derivation as suggested by Yāska.

But the approach of Yāska, as explained by our author, is not the grammarian's 'algebraic' approach, which would read the etymology of the word as being eternally hidden in the physical structure of the word (Cf., the renowned statement *siddhe śabdārtha-sambandhe*), nor the Neo-logician's 'abstract' approach, which would read a *śakti*, in the word, bestowed upon it by God, but on *usage* as current in the speech community, members of which may read the actual meaning according to the 'linguistic climate' in which the word is current. This view is considerably nearer to the *Anvitābhidhāna-vāda* in Sanskrit tradition and also to usage as ably noticed by the eminent linguist Dr. M. A. Mehendale in his work on Yāska. (Cf. the Review of his *Nirukta Notes*, in vol. 5 (1968) of this Journal).

#### IV. The scope of Yāska's etymologies

On page 9, para 5, the author has clearly set forth the scope of Yāska's etymologies. Yāska's purpose is said partly to be practical,

i.e., his etymology is to function as an instrument of two fields: (1) interpretation of mantras, and (2) comprehension of *devatās* (page 68, 4th para). The author here indicates a happy evaluation of Vedic Sanskrit tradition, so that the *Nirukta* was not only a science, but also an art, for it was directed to a practical purpose, as explained above.

### V. Vast range of the work

But the most inspiring portion of this work is the vast range which it commands—a feature which makes it unrivalled in studies on the *Nirukta*. This is all the more commendable in view of his vigorous attention to severe precision in interpretation. A few specimens of this enviable range may be noted below :

1. *A conspectus of etymologies in Vedic literature.* From page 4 ff. the author takes up a magnificent description of etymologies attempted in the whole field of Vedic literature, Cf., how *arkīṇah* with *arkā-*, and *aśvinā* with *aśnāntau* have been associated by the *Rgveda* in 1. 7. 1, *arkēbhīrarkīṇah* and 8. 5. 31, *aśnāntāvāśvinā*. These may not be called etymologies proper, but setting up of associated words together indicate a notable etymological trend even among the earliest Vedic poets. Very interesting indeed is the associated material in the *Nirukta* side by side with the *Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa* on page 8. This step is a challenge to the text-bookish atmosphere which has been vitiating this country for centuries.

2. *An exhaustive analysis of the *Nighaṇṭu*.* On pp. 10-30 the author has a wonderfully penetrating investigation of the *Nighaṇṭu*. Cf., how, on page 15, the relation of a single word *śipre* in the *Nighaṇṭu* has been established with a reading *suśipre* in the *Nirukta*. Note also a very close study of the problem of the occurrence or non-occurrence of *īlā* on page 19, and a suggestion to include *īlā* in the 3rd part as well. On page 21 the author shows how meagre is the ratio of *Nighaṇṭu* words expounded by Yāska—only 230 out of 1341 words.

3. *Conceptual basis of the verb.* A very learned treatment of the conceptual basis underlying the verb occurs on pp. 115 ff. Starting with the fanciful exposition of the term *ākhyāta-* (which is the term adopted by the *Nirukta* for the verb) by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10. 1. 2., it is stated that in deriving *prthivī*, *Yāska-* has not used the

root *prath*, but the verbal derivative *prathana-* which suggests that the essential concept underlying the verb was action (p. 116).

On p. 129, the author has ably noticed the two meanings of *bhava-* in Sanskrit tradition, viz., *bhāva-* as a *state* and *bhava-* as an action or process. The inability of Sanskrit tradition to specify a term for 'state' denoted by a verb may be eloquently illustrated by the Sanskrit grammatical work *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra-* (S. 2004), page 143, which has set up *bhāva-*, even in the sense of *state*, as 'an imaginary collection of processes'. Cf. the comments thereon in the commentary *Prabhā : sāhacaryād v्यापार-रूपाम् क्रियात्वम्*.

4. *A conspectus of prefixes.* In his intensive and statistical study of prefixes, pp. 161 ff., the author suggests an additional category as in the Sanskrit utterance: *kuto'dhyāgacchatि bhava-* 'where are you coming from', as being due to the operation of the noun and the verb. But the exact ratio of the syntactical part played by the three categories in such an utterance remains to be explored.

5. *A historical description of particles.* An interesting historical treatment of particles first starts, on p. 180, with the observation that in non-technical, colloquial language, *nipāta-* was used in the sense of 'secondary, subordinate' with special reference to the gods.

The great Sanskrit-German Dictionary of Bohtling and Roth quotes the *Āśvalayana Śrauta Sūtra* 6.14, where *nipāta-* has been used in the sense of some ritualistic irregularity, but the non-technical use of these particles has been traced by the author only to certain citations occurring in the *Nirukta*.

On the authority of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, the author has pointed out the greater frequency of *ná* in the sense of negation as compared with that in the sense of comparison (p. 181).

As regards the usage of particles, the usage of *áha* and *ha* in the sense of *hí*, as pointed out on page 182, has been confirmed by Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, vol. V (1888), 519, though he adds other usages as well, e.g., of contrast, on p. 520.

Regarding the particle *tva-* the author has an interesting, detailed discussion. In his opinion *tva-* cannot be a particle, as it is inflected (p. 187). In the opinion of Delbrück as well, (see pages 26-27) "tva- is an unaccented pronoun, in the sense of 'some'".

The author's masterly statistical presentation has been already pointed out in the introductory para of this review.

6. *Cosmic presentation of deities and their ancillaries.* Very impressive indeed is the cosmic synthesis, on pages 291 ff., of so many trinities like three seasons, three metres, three *stomas* and three *sāmas*. Such a Trinity rhythm must have been a prominent feature of Vedic trends in some period.

In this connection, on pages 311-13, there is a very exhaustive analysis of *Āpri* verses, occurring in ten hymns of the *Rgveda*, pertaining to ten different sages from *Medhātithi Kāṇva* to *Bhārgava-Jamadagni*. Moreover, on page 314, it has been explained why only the *Jāmadagnya* verses have been illustrated by *Yāska*, being current among all Vedic schools.

7. *A liberal presentation of Reality.* Very interesting indeed is the author's observation on page 404, that it is possible to name Reality even as *śūnya*- 'void' in the sense that Reality does not exist in the sense that we take it.

## VI. Conclusion

Considering the fact that during his 67 years of Sanskrit studies, the present reviewer has never come across a book, in the field of Sanskrit, with such an inspiringly wide range, as this book, he has been impelled to make this review really constructive, in honour of this book, by supplementing the following *Proforma for integrated research in literature*, issued by the Shabda Brahma Parishad, Chandigarh, after eight years of discussion.

This proforma is only tentative, not at all final. It is being issued to all conscientious literary researchers for opinion.

The main features of this proforma are two :

1. Its basic starting point is team-work. Research is no research without team-work.
2. It believes in the inseparable synthesis of literature and linguistics.

*Proforma for integrated research in literary words :*

1. Word or phrasal unit.
2. Reference number of the context.

3. Ad hoc Bibliography (= All that has been already said about this word).
4. Reading variants.
5. Phonological peculiarities (with accountability).
6. Morphological peculiarities.
7. Effect of metrical environments on structure.
8. Effect of accent and syllabification.
9. Meanings, with possible alternants and discussion.
10. Contextual determinants of meaning.
11. Criticism on appropriateness.
12. Estimate of suggestiveness.
13. Predominant sentiment.
14. Usage (poetical or colloquial).
15. Parallels in the language concerned.
16. Historical aspects.
17. Folklorish aspects.
18. Psychological aspects.
19. Parallels from related languages.
20. Remarks.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

*CONSONANTAL CHANGES IN INDIC AND ROMANCE LANGUAGES*, By G.S. Rayall. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1969. Pp. ii, 1, 6, 92. Rs. 10.

### I. Introductory

This book connotes not only a sign of the times ; its appearance may also be coordinated with the fitness of things. The inclusion of English in the three-language formula by the country was a sagacious step in the shape of things to come. For, English has now established its right as the leading international language of modern civilization, and the need for it in the country, although relatively on the decrease, is none the less real in almost every branch of our social life. Moreover, the complexities of language study are aggravated when the teacher and the student have to face three languages at the same time. Now,

so far as the English language is concerned, this book could serve as a valuable companion for the guidance of the teacher as it offers interesting comparative material for an enlightened study of English.

## II. The charms of the comparative method

The limitations of the comparative method, both in the domains of philosophy and theoretical linguistics are well known. (For linguistics, Cf. A. M. Ghatage, *Historical linguistics and Indo-Aryan languages*, 1962, pp.27-29). But, as regards language teaching, it may safely be stated that comparisons with other languages are a powerful instrument of giving lasting and vivid impression of linguistic phenomena to the language student. Thus, Dr. Ghatage says in the same above-mentioned book (p.15) : "An observation of such modern Romance languages as French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese or a group of languages like Hindi, Panjabi, Guj̄rati, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and a few others reveals striking similarities in phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary." A study of these similarities will considerably prevent the dangers of cram among our language students.

## III. Parallel comparative studies in Hindi

It is a happy sign of the times that such comparative studies have already started in the country. Thus, in an ably written book in Hindi entitled *Hindi mē angrezi ke āgat śabdon ka bhāshā-tātvik adhyayan* (A linguistic study of English loan words in Hindi) by Dr. K.C. Bhatia (Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1967), gives, in 400 pages, an exhaustive description of phonetic and idiomatic material imported from English but adapted in diverse ways in Hindi. The book under review, therefore, connotes a sign of the times.

## IV. The Romance of words

Here and there, this book has given examples of words which the reader is bound to enjoy, parallels which would make him appreciate 'the romance of words'. For instance :

(1) That the English word 'Tudor', being the name of the English royal family in which the illustrious Queen Elizabeth was born, finds, at least in part, a similarity to Sanskrit *devadāru*- 'the Deodar tree', is a thrilling example of English and Indo-Aryan parallels. For, Tudor means 'given by God' (p. -60), though the second element of Sanskrit, viz. *dāru*, means a 'tree' and does not correspond in this respect.

But it must be clearly realised by all those interested in languages that the mere sounds of a language do not impart a particular sense ; 'usage' must cooperate for this purpose. In enlightened countries, 'Stylistics', of which 'usage' is the topmost part, is being pursued with growing interest. This stylistics, again, is an element of Paralinguistics, which the British school of phoneticians is pursuing with wonderful energy. Cf. an article on 'Notes on systems of prosodic and paralinguistic features in English' in the French journal *Revue de phonétique appliquée*, 1960, page 1.

(2) The English word 'vehicle' when explained by the teacher to an Indian student that it is connected with the Sanskrit word *vah-* 'to carry' (page 1) will create in the student a comparative outlook which will turn out to be very productive in the long run.

#### V. Sound-change parallels

Very interesting indeed are similar sound-change parallels both in Indo-Aryan and in languages connected with Latin. Thus, on page 34, it has been shown that *m=v* 'doublets' occurred even within Sanskrit, e.g., Sanskrit *śyāma-* or *śyava-* 'dark'. Similarly, Latin *glomus* or *globus* 'a ball'. On page 38, parallel to Latin *l+dental>au* in French, as Latin *ultra* 'beyond', French *autre* 'another', Sanskrit *kaparda-* 'a cowrishiell', Panjabi *kaudī*.

From such data, it appears to the present reviewer that such a book will be a useful companion to the teacher of English, who, by quoting apt examples of similarity between English and Indo-Aryan words, will make his lessons life-like and rational.

#### VI. What should be the title of this book

The title of this book, *Consonantal changes in Indic and Romance Languages*, is unfortunately a misnomer. The word 'Indic' is too wide : Indic should include Dravidian, Munda and Tibetan. None of these has been illustrated in the book. The examples are all from Indo-Aryan. 'Romance Languages' are only those derived from Latin, but Latin cannot be a 'Romance' language. The correct name will be 'Italic Languages'. Cf. Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar of Indo-European Languages* (in German), 1897, page 10 : "The Italian Language constitutes Latin on one side and Oscan-Umbrian on the other side. As a written language, Latin has acquired a status parallel

to Sanskrit." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, has, similarly, an article on 'Italic Languages', (vol. 12, page 752). That Latin had a copious element in the structure of the English language, particularly its vocabulary, has been pointed out by this *Encyclopaedia* in the article on 'English Language', p. 556. It states that even in Old English the word for 'street', 'butter', 'cheese', 'money', 'inch', 'mile' and 'wine' came from Latin. It has been estimated by language experts that 75 per cent of cultural English vocabulary originates from Latin.

The title of the book may be recast in the light of the data above. As the book will particularly be useful to students of English, it is desirable to keep the word 'English' in the title. E.g., the title may perhaps be : *Consonantal changes : Parallels in English (with special reference to Italic languages) and Indo-Aryan vocabulary*.

### VII. Desirability of reconsidering some comparisons

While most of the comparisons given in the book are generally acceptable, there are some which have to be reconsidered. E.g., the following may be noted :

1. On page 45, Panjabi *vag-* 'to flow' has been connected with Skt. *vah-* 'to bear', which is not possible, for Panjabi /g/ cannot be a correlate of Skt. /h/. Cf. Turner, *ib.*, No. 12225, where Panjabi *vag-* has been connected with Prakrit *vaggai* 'goes', Sanskrit *válgati* 'jumps', Kumiauni *bagño* 'to flow', Marāṭhī *vāgñē* 'to move'.
2. On p. 67, Latin *focus* has been translated as 'fire', but it means 'hearth'. Cf. Webster, sub-voce *fuel*, and Walde, *Latin-Etymological Dictionary* (in German), page 302.
3. On page 69, the /n/ of *cent* 'hundred', has been stated to be an insertion before a stop, but it is an established philological fact that this /n/ was basically a nasal sound in Indo-European, which has been replaced by ·/a/ in Indo-Iranian. Cf. Brugmann, *ib.*, p. 100, who calls it 'sonant nasal'.

### VIII. Conclusion.

The above data, it may be presumed, will give us the following points :

1. This book admirably represents the incipient effort in the country to rationalize the study of languages like English and Indo-Aryan.

2. It suggests the importance of extending our linguistic horizon by the inclusion of stylistic features as well.
3. This book will be useful to teachers of English in this country.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

*SAUNDARYALAHARI OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA*, Critically ed. by N. S. Venkatanathacharya. Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. Revised edition, 1969. Pp. lviii, 386. Rs. 7.

Among the more popular Sanskrit hymns of perennial interest, the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya is definitely one of the foremost. The poetic charm of the verses, their flowing language, the physical description and artistic pen-pictures of the Goddess in different settings and the appeal of direct address to the deity—all contribute to this popularity. Added to these is the esoteric efficacy attached to the recitation and worship of individual verses in securing for the devotee specific worldly and other-worldly benefits. The said popularity and special merit of the work have prompted several commentaries on it, among which the one by the 14th century scholiast Lakṣmīdhara, included in the present edition of the work, is particularly sumptuous in elucidating the verses from the points of view of literal sense, grammar, poetics and esoteric significance.

In the publication under review, the editor has added in continuation of *Saundaryalaharī* and Lakṣmīdhara's commentary, the esoteric diagrams pertaining to all the hundred verses of the work, with directions for engraving them on metallic plates and the details of the worship of each for the achievement of the specific fruits. For the further elucidation of the *Śrīcakra*, which is the most potent of all these diagrams, the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, which describes the deeper meanings of this *Cakra*, is edited with the commentary of Bhāskararāya, the renowned Tantric scholar and prolific writer of the 18th century. As a further Supplement is added the pentad of hymns on the Mother Goddess (*Devī-pañcastavī*), comprised of *Laghustuti*, *Carcāstava*, *Ghaṭastava*, *Ambāstava* and *Sakalajanānistaya*.

The revision effected in the present edition consists of the supply of a learned Introduction in Sanskrit (pp. xxv-xxxvii), descriptive contents of the verses (pp. xli-liv), a readable rendering of the text in Kannada and eight useful indexes (pp. 353-85).

The Oriental Institute, Mysore, deserves to be commended for placing in the hands of interested readers, a beautifully printed revised edition of the *Saundaryalaharī* with the several new items referred to above.

K.V. SARMA

*SAYANA'S SUBHĀŚITA-SUDHĀNIDHI*, Critically edited by K. Krishnamoorthy. Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968. Pp. iii, iii, 16, 249, 39, iii. Rs. 10.

The name of Sāyaṇa as a commentator of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas is very well known and his erudition in this field is universally recognised. But it is a pleasant surprise to find that the great Sanskrit savant compiled an anthology of Classical Sanskrit poetry also. Although, both in the introductory section as well as in the colophons of the work, Sāyaṇa is expressly described as the compiler, we have our doubts whether the entire work is really Sāyaṇa's own. The first two verses in the beginning of the *Kāmaparva*, contain statements which an author of the stature of Sāyaṇa is most unlikely to make about himself. The verses run as follows :

लक्ष्मीसरस्वतीकीतिविलासविहृतिस्थलम् ।  
आचन्द्रतारकं जीयान्मन्त्री मायणसायणः ॥  
मनुमान्धातृकल्पोऽयं मायणामात्यसम्भवः ।  
जीयादव्याहतैश्वर्यः सायणः शरदः शतम् ॥

“May, Sāyaṇa, the son of Māyaṇa, the abode of the sportive movements of Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Kīrti, live as long as the moon and the stars (last).

“May this offspring of the Minister Māyaṇa, Sāyaṇa, who is equal to Manu and Māndhātā, live for a hundred autumns with his prosperity unimpaired.”

It looks highly improbable that a scholar of the eminence of Sāyaṇa, would commit what Bhartṛhari has rightly called the sin of singing one's own praises. It is almost impossible that Sāyaṇa would describe himself as equal to the great law-giver Manu and the Ikṣvāku *regis imperator* Māndhātā. These are obviously the words of a protege of

Sāyaṇa himself, who has quite unconsciously incorporated these statements in the body of the work which make Sāyaṇa's authorship of this anthology very doubtful. Further, it may be added that at places the selection of verses does not speak of good taste, such as is definitely expected from a scholar like Sāyaṇa. For example, in the *Hasyapaddhati* most of the verses are either vulgar or obscene. These could never have been compiled by Sāyaṇa.

The anthology is divided into four sections entitled *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*. In *Dharma* we have eulogies of or salutations to the various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. Even here, a few verses have an erotic tinge. In the second section, on *Artha*, we have the usual *nīti* verses, as well as verses on various aspects of statecraft. In the third section, on *Kāma*, the various topics bearing on the erotic sentiment such as the description of seasons, the description of female beauty, and sexual life are included. Many of these are common to other well-known anthologies, but some are new. The last section, on *Mokṣa*, includes such topics as renunciation, pilgrimages, devotion and attainment of the highest spiritual knowledge. Besides providing a good stock of verses on the topics enumerated above, this anthology has historical value also. We get a very good glimpse of the life of Sāyaṇa and his patron Kampa of the famous Vijayanagar royal house.

While we congratulate the editor for placing before the Sanskrit readers a new anthology, with a learned and very informative introduction, we feel that greater care could have been taken in editing the work. In some cases the arrangement of the sub-sections is defective. For example in the *Madhupāna-paddhati*, only the first two verses really pertain to this topic. The remaining 12 verses do not have any relevance to this subject. Similarly, under *Virahapralāpa*, verses 6 to 9 do not pertain to this topic.

There are several misprints which are likely to confuse the reader; e.g., at page 226, *devīti* is printed for *dehīti*; on the same page *sāhasi niśārada-* is printed for *sāhasini śārada-*, at page 230, we have *vraja-puṭa* for *dhvaja-puṭa*, at page 42 there is *dainyam* for *daivam*, and at page 215 there is *kubjapaṭi* for *kuñja-kuṭī*; at page 232, *vallabhaḥ* should have been *vallabha*, and at page 237, *sanayana* is a misprint for *sunayanā*.

However, inspite of these flaws, we welcome this new addition to the available anthologies in Sanskrit.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL  
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STOTRASAMUCCAYA, Ed. by K. Parameswara Aital. The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras-20, Part II, 1969. Pp. xix, 386. Rs. 28 ; 43 sh. ; \$ 6.50.

We had the occasion to review, in the last volume of this Journal, 7 (1969) 198-99, the First Part of this collection of South-Indian Sanskrit hymns. That Part comprised of fifty select stotras on the gods Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya, Devī and Śiva, while, the Second Part, which is reviewed here and which completes the series, contains fifty-one hymns on Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and some other pieces of a miscellaneous nature.

All the hymns included in this collection are stotras with a difference—a difference which marks them out from the highly repetitive contents of the several popular stotra collections available in print. Firstly, all of them are rare and mostly unpublished hitherto. Secondly, while exuding devotional fervour, in common with the stotras in other collections, the hymns included herein are significant from certain other considerations as well. Thus, the *Gopālasataka* of Aśoka-Raghunāthācārya (pp. 24-47) epitomises, systematically, in 126 well-knit verses composed in *sragdharā* metre, the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the tenth and eleventh *skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Kṛṣṇacaritramañjarī* (pp. 8-14) of the reputed Dvaita scholar Rāghavendratīrtha is a shorter epitome of the same story, while his *Rāmacaritramañjarī* (pp. 171-80) retells the main events of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The long stotra entitled *Tattvārthasārāvali* by Subrahmaṇayayogin in 347 verses (pp. 63-108) is a descriptive eulogy of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara installed on the Tirupati Hills, based on the *Veṅkaṭeśvara-māhātmya*, and refers to the interesting tradition of 'Veṅkaṭa-subrahmaṇya'—How God Subrahmaṇya was transformed into Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati (vv. 251-54).

Some of the hymns, like for instance, the *Bhagavadvicāralalitāryāḥ* of Uṭake Govindācārya (pp. 134-39), *Virarāghava-stotra* (pp. 206-16) and *Hastigiriśastava* (pp. 225-35), both of Virarāghava-Vedāntadeśika and *Upāsanāṣṭādaśaka* (pp. 321-23) form expositions, also, of philosophical tenets. The *Suryadvādaśaka* (pp. 373-74) is of high esoteric potency, being associated with the R̥gvedic *tṛca*, 1.50.11-13. Certain of the hymns are plaintive in tone; cf. *Nirvedatārāvalī* of Kauśika Raṅganātha (pp. 122-27) and *Viraktimuktāvalī* of Uṭake Govindācārya (pp. 186-206). Certain others are of intimate local interest, being dedicated to deities installed at certain sacred places in South

India like Ghaṭikācalā (Sholinghur), Melkoṭe in Mysore, Tirucherī (near Kumbakonam) and Kanchipuram. A stotra of particular interest, belonging to this category, is the *Asṭamahiṣī-prārthanā-śatakam* of Rāmānuja (pp. 236-46) dedicated to the different manifestations of Goddess Lakṣmī as installed in eight sacred shrines.

Apart from two resounding stotras of the *daṇḍaka* type, viz., *Hayagrīvadaṇḍaka* (pp. 219-22) and (*Mahālakṣmīdaṇḍaka* (pp. 291-94), there are some which exhibit skill in intricate versification, while, at the same time, maintain devotional fervour and poetic charm. Among these may be mentioned the *Indirāśataka* by Kṛṣṇakavi (pp. 247-58) in 101 *nirauṣṭhya* verses, eschewing the labial syllables. The *Rāmamattebhastotra* of Mahādeva (pp. 180-82) employs the *dvādaśa-prāsa*, the repeated syllables having been taken in the alphabetical order; this *stotra* forms also an epitome of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the following verse, mentioning some of the incidents from the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* and having *ta*, *tha*, *da*, and *dha* as the repetitive syllables in the different pādas, would show :

तातुञ्जया तदनु सीतान्वितो भूवनपाता समेत्य विपिनं  
यथा॑र्थ्यवेदिमुनिनाथा॑र्थितो विमतमात्राय पञ्चवटिकाम् ।  
गोदुावरीविहगनादुानुवधबहुमोदुावहामधिवसन्  
क्रोत्रादरं विपुलयोत्राधरं विषममेत्राधरं खरमहन् ॥

Many of the hymns form delectable poetry of a high order. Among these, two, viz., the incomplete *Turagaśataka* of Vāñchheśvara (pp. 109-17) and *Dugdhāpagā-daśakam* (pp. 336-38) on the sacred river Pālār, are worthy of special mention for the highflown poetic imagery displayed therein.

The representative selection of devotional outpourings presented before us, in the *Stotrasamuccaya*, the Second Part of which is reviewed here, fully demonstrates the unbroken tradition, during mediaeval and later times, of the Bhakti cult in South Indian life, two other corroborative demonstrations thereof being the string of temples that dot the entire region and the stream of devotees that repairs to these sacred spots for mental peace and spiritual solace.

The Editor refers, in his Introduction (p. xix), to the large number of *Ācārya-stotras* preserved in manuscript form in the Adyar Library.

Besides their devotional appeal, these *stotras* are highly valuable for the information they contain on literary, cultural and personal history. Students of Indian culture and Hindu religion will be thankful to the Adyar Library for publishing collections of the rare and unpublished *Ācārya-stotras*, duly classified and arranged and provided with brief biographical, historical and local notes. To be sure, the Adyar Library with its talented editorial staff, wealth of source-material and facilities for standard book production, is well equipped for taking up such a project.

K. V. SARMA

*PURUŚĀRTHOPADEŚA* of Bhartṛhari, Critically edited by K. V. Sarma. Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, Pp. xxiii, 30. Rs. 5.

The *Puruśārthopadeśa* is a little-known compilation of verses ascribed to Bhartṛhari and, as such, a critical edition of the work is most welcome. The present edition is based on its only known manuscript. The edition is accompanied by another collection of ten verses called *Puruśārtha-daśaka*, also attributed to Bhartṛhari. This latter work is also prepared from a single known manuscript.

The problem of the origin of the Bhartṛhari-verses is shrouded in mystery. Though the well set *Śatakatrayī*, (in three units of a hundred verses each), is known to the public as such, it is to be noted that the total number of the verses attributed to Bhartṛhari, as collected from the anthologies, far exceeds three hundred, numbering, at least 857. It is, hence, clear that the verses incorporated in the *Śatakatrayī* should have been selected with a particular scheme and a particular motive, from the floating mass of verses attributed to Bhartṛhari, whosoever he *really* might be.

The verses in the *Puruśārthopadeśa* are mostly common to the *Śatakatrayī* but the aim of the redactor in the present case is different. While the *Śatakatrayī* has arranged the verses according to the categories of *Nīti*, *Śrīgāra* and *Vairāgya*, the purpose of *Puruśārthopadeśa* is to collect together verses that deal with the prime *Puruśārtha*, viz., *Mokṣa*, and its accessories like virtue, renunciation etc.

According to the editor, the *Puruśārthopadeśa* is a judicious recast of the *Śatakatrayī*, produced at an early stage after the redaction of the latter.

In preparing the edition of this book the editor has minutely studied the various verses in comparison with their counterparts in the *Śatakatrayī*; and in the foot-notes he has marked, among other things, the new variants found in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*. Some of the variants are noteworthy. Thus, for example, for *ajñāḥ sukhām ārādhyāḥ* (with the root *rādh* with *ā*), the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* has *sukham avabodhyāḥ*, and correspondingly we have *Brahmā'pi naram na bodhayati* for *Brahmā'pi naram na rañjayati*, which sounds better in sense, in spite of the alliteration that the original reading has. Again, for *nṛpāṅgāṇa-gataḥ khalaḥ*, the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* reads *nṛpāṅkāṇa-gataḥ khalaḥ*, conveying the idea of the fool turned a king, rather than being simply his protégé.

The edition is highly valuable for the elaborate critical Introduction by the editor, which discusses, among other things, the identification of Bhartṛhari, his popularity, the tradition of the *Śatakatrayī* and the redaction of Bhartṛhari verses.

The publication is a welcome addition to critically edited literature in Sanskrit.

SADASHIV A. DANGE,  
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CĀṄAKYA-NĪTI-TEXT-TRADITION, By Ludwik Sternbach.  
Vishveshvaranand Institute, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur  
(India), Vol. II, Pts. I-III, 1967-70. Pp. xvi, 276, 1048.  
Each Part Rs. 35.

When Dr. Sternbach placed before scholars, in 1963-64, his critical edition of the six basic versions to which he could reduce the numerous collections of Cāṅakya's epigrams, he announced that "the next step will be the reconstruction of all those aphorisms which can be considered as Cāṅakya's own, or more correctly, which could be considered as attributeable to Cāṅakya" (Vol. I, Preface, p. vii). The three sumptuous tomes before us represent the result of this arduous undertaking.

As is well known, the Cāṅakya verses, are spread, as quotations, over a wide range of Sanskrit literature besides their occurrence in multifarious collections. The *Ur-text* of all these verses has

been presented by Dr. Sternbach in three Sections : (A) Those found in the six basic versions (1122), (B) Those found only as individual verses in external sources (960), and (C) Corrupt, incomplete or otherwise defective verses found in external sources (133). Thus, in all, the present volume contains the critical text of 2215 different maxims attributed to Cāṇakya in *majorum gloriam*. Under each verse are given its sources and variant readings. Since the verses do not have any internal arrangement amongst themselves, they are arranged alphabetically, in the said three Sections, and numbered continuously for purposes of reference. Again, since the said alphabetical arrangement disturbs the sequence in the basic collectional versions and sub-versions, as many as 113 Tables of Concordance are appended to the Introduction, so as to enable easy location of the position of any verse in any of the several collections. Thus, the three parts, together, comprise, literally, the full treasury of *Cāṇakya-nīti-text-tradition*, adequately provided with all necessary facilities to locate and study, critically and comparatively, any Cāṇakya epigram in any of its aspects. It redounds to the credit of Dr. Sternbach to have achieved this with respect of the farflung and extensive tradition of the wise sayings of Cāṇakya, whose provenance extends far beyond the borders of India, to wit, into Burma, Ceylon, Tibet, Mongolia, Siam, Laos, Cambodia and Indonesia and whose occurrence in the literatures of those countries has also been suitably recorded by him in the volume under review and elsewhere in his other writings.

Several interesting points come out of Dr. Sternbach's long Introduction to the Volume. For instance, he shows that nearly 30 percent of the Cāṇakya verses known in India are known also in Greater India, either in their original Sanskrit form or in local renderings (see pp. 39-69), which demonstrates the high popularity which these epigrams enjoyed in those lands. An interesting feature of the Cāṇakya tradition is that we often find herein the same verse adapted to different metres, in different versions. Thus in verse 278, the 11-syllabic *Upajāti* of the *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya* is read as a 12-syllabic *Upajāti* in the *Cāṇakya-rājanīti* version, by the suitable addition of a syllable to each of the four quarters, i.e., by changing *dantamalopasṛṣṭam* to *dantamalopadhāriṇam*, *niṣṭhura-bhāsiṇam ca* to *niṣṭhura-vākyabhāsiṇam*, *astamite śayānam* to *astamaye 'pi śayinam* and *cakrapāṇim* to *cakradhārīṇam*. We have also numerous instances of quarters and halves of different verses interchanging.

To strike a personal note, it is a matter of satisfaction to the present reviewer that his critical edition of a hitherto unknown collection of Cāṇakya verses, entitled *Cāṇakya-saptati*, could be published in good time for Dr. Sternbach to utilise that work also suitably in the reconstruction of his present *Ur-text* of Cāṇakya verses (cf. Intro., p. 72) and also incorporate in the volume a Concordance Table of that work (p. 149).

Dr. Sternbach has indicated towards the end of his Preface (p. viii), his intention to issue, in due course, an English translation of the Cāṇakya *Ur-text* and also a *Motif-Index* to all Cāṇakya verses. Students of Indology will eagerly look forward to the expeditious completion and publication of these two works, especially the latter, which is bound to be extremely useful in the study of ancient and mediaeval Indian life and culture.

K. V. SARMA

**KĀLIDĀSA: DATE, LIFE AND WORKS.** By Vasudeva Vishnu Mirashi and Narayan Raghunath Navlekar. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1969. Pp. ix, 473. Rs. 25.

The work under review presents an exhaustive study of Kālidāsa, on critical lines and covers practically all aspects of the subject. The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the vexed problem of the date of Kālidāsa. In 35 pages, the authors have discussed threadbare, the various views that have been expressed from time to time. They have subjected the view of the protagonists of various theories to a scientific analysis and have refuted the discordant theories by means of cogent, forceful and convincing arguments. As a result of their sifting inquiry, the authors have arrived at the conclusion that Kālidāsa lived in c. A. D. 400, in the court of the illustrious Gupta monarch, Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The second chapter dealing with the age of Kālidāsa, is a masterly survey of the social and political background. Beginning with the establishment of the mighty empire of the Mauryas under Candragupta, the authors have discussed the successive role of Aśoka, Puṣyamitra, the Sātavāhanas, the Śakas and the Kuṣānas, in the evolution of civilized life in its various aspects such as religion, philosophy, literature, art, social laws and scientific progress. We are thus, gradually, brought to the threshold of the classical age of the Guptas and are presented with

a picture where we see vividly painted the fruition of our national effort, a picture of political grandeur, peace, prosperity and progress. This was the milieu in which were produced the lyrics, the epics and the dramas of Kālidāsa. The authors have given a graphic account of the India of Kālidāsa's days, dwelling upon its religious beliefs and philosophical speculations, its tremendous progress in the sphere of arts and crafts, its literary output, its social customs, beliefs and practices, and, last but not the least, its progress in the field of sciences.

The third chapter is devoted to the controversy regarding the home of Kālidāsa. The claims of Bengal, Kashmir and Vidisha, have all been duly considered, but rejected. The authors favour the view that Kālidāsa was a native of Ujjayinī.

The fourth chapter is a penetrating study of the personality of Kālidāsa. The authors have first, exposed the hollowness of many a silly anecdote about Kālidāsa, traditionally handed down and taken as true, in certain circles, both in the past as well as in the present. They have then, delved deep into the writings of Kālidāsa, and on the basis of the material thus gleaned, they have painted a vivid picture of Kālidāsa as a man.

Chapter V presents a survey of the poetical works of Kālidāsa. Here, not only have our authors given us succinct summaries of each poem, but have also discussed the antecedents of each poem, discussed its sources and presented an appraisal of the work. In discussing the poetic merits and blemishes, the authors have supported their arguments with copious quotations from the original texts. This enables the reader to form a concrete idea of the contents of each poem, and also to enjoy the poetic beauty of Kālidāsa's writings.

Chapter VI is devoted to a critical study of the dramas of Kālidāsa. Here, as in the case of poetical works, we get very judicious summaries of all the three plays. The dramatic merits of each play have been highlighted, and, as is usual with our authors, every statement has been supported by quotations from and references to the plays.

In chapter VII, a general estimate of the works of Kālidāsa has been attempted where his merits have been brought out in bold relief and the seeming blemishes explained. Here, the authors have not only quoted the appreciative remarks of competent literary

critics like Ānandavardhana, but have themselves discussed in detail the salient features of Kālidāsa's poetry, such as suggestiveness, effective delineation of sentiment and judicious use of the figure of speech such as *Svabhāvokti*, *Vakrokti*, *Upamā* etc. The dramas have been subjected to a searching examination from the points of view of construction of plot, delineation of characters, description of nature, etc. Here, again, the authors have copiously quoted in order to substantiate their views.

In chapter VIII, the authors have set forth the views of Kālidāsa on religion, philosophy, society, politics, education, etc. A perusal of this chapter gives us a clear idea of Kālidāsa's views on some of the great problems of life and his contribution to their solution.

In chapter IX, which is the last, we find the observations of ancient Sanskrit authors of various ages about the muse of Kālidāsa. One is pleasantly surprised to find that Kālidāsa was the recipient of voluntary tributes of praise from the ancient writers as from the modern critics. The work has a short but useful bibliography and is provided with an index.

The outstanding merit of the present study of Kālidāsa is its three-fold utility. It can be read with profit by the specialist, by the layman as well as by the student. The remarkably chaste and lucid English, free from involved constructions and difficult vocabulary, makes its reading, a pleasure. The work is the result of a lifelong study of the subject by a veteran Sanskrit scholar whose previous publications on the topic in Marathi and Hindi, have already been widely appreciated. The present comprehensive and critical study in English is sure to have a still wider appeal.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

*NĀTYASAṂSKRTISUDHĀ* By Ramesh Chandra Shukla. Pub. : Dev Shankar Shukla, Krishnapuri, Aligarh, 1968. Pp. (15), 265, 7. Rs. 10.

The *Nātyasaṃskṛtisudhā*, which formed the doctoral dissertation of the author, in Sanskrit, as approved by the Aligarh Muslim University in 1961, aims at presenting ancient Indian life during the period extending from 100 B.C. to A.D. 500, when the country was ruled by the Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas, Kuṣāṇas, Sātavāhanas and the Guptas, on the basis of Sanskrit dramas written during the

period. This age was, indeed, a flourishing period of literary activity, when, among other writings, some of the foremost Sanskrit dramas were also composed. The author's thesis is that the social life of a nation, at any period, is to be found mirrored in contemporary dramas and, therefore, Indian life during the period under study can be understood from contemporary dramas much better than from other sources like epigraphy, archaeology etc. (pp. 9-11). One may agree with this postulation only in a general way, *i.e.*, with the limitation of some *avyāpti* and *ativyāpti*. Thus, all contemporary life might not be pictured in the dramas, and all that is pictured need not be contemporary. This is especially true of India, where standardisation of norms and conventions for dramas, even as for other similar matters, had been established from early times. Again, the portrayal of life in dramas is limited also by the plots thereof, the presentation of a Purāṇic theme like *Śākuntala* or a traditional romance like *Svapnavāsavadatta*, having to conform, in a large measure, to its ancient source. In fact, elsewhere in the book, where the author speaks of the influence of the earlier dramas on later dramas, he pertinently observes that in the matter of general culture, thought and conventions, the one is very much a prototype of the other : *Cf.* सकलेष्वपि तेषु श्रुति-स्मृति-पुराणमतो (sic) धर्मो विचार आचारश्च समानतामेकरूपतां च मजभान (sic) एव लभ्यते । सर्वाणि रूपकाण्येकमेव स्वरमेकामेव मर्ति च निदधानानि प्राप्यन्ते । (p. 256). The point we want to stress is that there has been, in India, a continuity of cultural and literary tradition and that our dramas have also been influenced, from very early times, by earlier literature and thought. With this limitation, it may be said that dramatic literature, especially of the social types like the *Prakarana* and the *Bhāṇa*, forms a potential source for the study of contemporary life.

The author deals, in the first five chapters of the book, with the nature of the Sanskrit drama and its potentialities in mirroring life. He also gives an outline of the dramas analysed by him, *viz.*, the works of Bhāṣa, Kālidāsa, Aśvaghoṣa, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta. It should have been eminently useful, for the author, to have taken up, for similar analysis, also the four well-known social satires of the period, being the *Padmaprābhṛta* of Śūdraka, *Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda* of Īśvaradatta, *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci and *Padatāditaka* of Śyāmilaka. The next five chapters, which form the kernel of the book, deal, respectively, with contemporary Polity, Social conditions, Economics, Religious conditions and Morality.

Information on various matters coming under the purview of the above topics are taken up one by one and dealt with in detail, and, often, correlated with parallel information as available from the generally accepted historical sources. The chapters on Polity (pp. 107-32) and Social conditions (pp. 133-94) are particularly rich in information.

While one could concur with the author on many of his findings, there are certain deductions which seem to be unwarranted. For example, he observes on p. 229, while speaking about social and moral standards, that in ancient India several Brāhmaṇas swerved from their prescribed way of life. But the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras continued to follow their prescribed way of life, which proved to be one of the causes of their downfall. At the same time, the author hails, elsewhere, the very same ways of life as the ideals which Sanskrit drama offers for the moderns for being emulated (see pp. 257-63, esp. p. 261).

For all the intrinsic merit of the work, its printer and proof-reader seem to have managed to take away much of its charm and readability. The book contains a three-page list of printer's errors, but all the errors in the book could run to thirty pages. ब and ब, भ and भ, थ and य, ह्य and ह्य etc. often interchange. An uncalled for dot often shows itself over letters, as in नवनीत मुत्तरलीभवति (p. 11), प्रवृत्तिपरकं (p. 11), हेवं नाम (p. 55), नाटकोऽभूतिं (p. 59), धर्मो (p. 12), मौलिक (p. 31), नांस्ना (p. 120) etc. Discontinuous printing of letters in words tend to impair the flow of reading. See, for example : साम्प्रतिकाना मांगलभाषा निबद्धानामिति हासानामध्ययनं यिदवति (sic, p. 6), भारतमेदिनी मनुग्रही तुं (p. 15), रूपकाणा माश्रयण मुचिततर मेव (p. 7), दि अनुसस (p. 51), ए पितिल (p. 53), शारदा तनयस्य (p. 57), सांगर नन्दी (p. 57), देवे चन्द्र उत्ते (p. 116), etc., etc., etc. The corollary to the above, viz., the continuous printing of separate words are, sometimes, confusing, e. g., त्रयीविग्रहवत्येव (p. 143), समानीव आकृतिः (p. 12); and, at other times, tend to give opposite meanings; Cf: अयन्तु परमोधर्मो यद् योगिनामात्म दर्शनम् (p. 15), चारित्रम् (sic) परमोधर्मः (p. 12), कुतोवाचिकं (p. 117), प्रागवर्तिनि (p. 203, in the sense of प्राग्वर्तिनि), अर्थतः पुरुषोनारी (p. 259). If lapses of this type were few and far between, they would, well, have been ignored by the understanding reader. But one is apt to get fed up when this type of fare is served page after page. What a contrast to the other very 'readable' books of our author, like the *Prabandha-*

*ratnakara* (Rev. VIJ V pp. 243-44) and *Gāndhigauravan* (Rev. VIJ VIII, 288), which, too, the present reviewer had the occasion to go through in detail !

There is also a thing or two in which the author alone could help and not the printer or the proof-reader. Non-Indian authors and works have been referred to in the book through their Hindi-ised Devanagari transliteration,—which is often confusing. In fact, the names could be better and more correctly understood had they been given, also, in English. At present some of these require much ingenuity even to recognise them. Cf. गांडिगिरा गेले हटे आन औररेगेन, थियेट्रे, इण्डिशक (all on p. 37), स्प्रिट (p. 38), ओरण्टियल (pp. 63, 71), कैमब्रज (p. 110), स्लेक्ट (p. 130) etc. Some of the names are differently transliterated at different places. The author could also examine the book thoroughly for errors of the type noted below, for their due inclusion in the *Errata* : The author of *Āscaryacūḍāmani* शीलभ्रद (sic) (p. 63)→(=to be corrected to) Śaktibhadra ; वीणावत्सराज (p. 79)→*Vīṇāvāsavadatta* ; वादिवधोत्तिलखितं (p. 93)→*Vādijahāṅghālollikhitam* ; दिव्यवदानम् (pp. 125)→*Divyāvadānam* ; कुमाररिलभट्ट (p. 219)→*Kumārilabhaṭṭa* ; संगठितं (pp. 108, 130)→*Saṅghaṭitam*. A good number of Western authorities are referred to and quoted in the body of the book, quite often without bibliographical references : E.g., Huxley (p. 15), Sylvain Lévi (pp. 10, 35, 37 etc.), Max Muller (p. 35), Pischel (pp. 37, 40 etc.). Indian authorities, too, do not fare better in this respect. Due references have to be supplied wherever they have not been given.

We might take this occasion to make a few suggestions, the adoption of which, in a future edition of the work, could be expected to add greatly to its reference value : (1) A full Subject Index ; (2) Completion of the now incomplete bibliographical entries in the List of books consulted ; (3) Supply, in bold type, of suitable subject headings in the body of the book ; (4) Supply of informative folio headings to the pages, over and above the (presently given) dry page numbers ; and (5) a more attractive and less monotonous typography. The title of the book could also be made more expressive of its contents, or, at least, a secondary title could be added to that effect.

K. V. SARMA

*OEUVRES POÉTIQUES DE NILAKANTHA DIKṢITA*, Texte, traduction et notes, Par Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat. Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichery. Pt. I, 1967. Pp. 57, 362 ; Pls. 10. Price not mentioned.

The Introduction to the volume under review commences with a significant affirmation : "It is undeniable that in South Indian history there had been, during the 16th and 17th centuries, intense activity in Sanskrit literature, temple architecture and sculpture. It was marked by an abundance in production and a passion characterised by Sanskritic culture." (p. 1). This was a period of Sanskrit literary exuberance, some glimpses of which have been given by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, V. Raghavan, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, M. Krishnamachariar, and others, but a full-fledged account thereof yet remains to be written. The bulk of the literature produced during this period still remains in manuscript form, beyond the easy reach of interested scholars. Monographs on individual authors and critical editions of the numerous unpublished texts form a preliminary to such an account. The volume under review, being the First Part of the Collected Poetical Works of Nilakantha Dikṣita, a versatile writer of the period, is, therefore, most welcome.

Nilakantha Dikṣita (c. 1600-1675), one of the literary luminaries of the royal court of Madura, has deservedly been the subject of several studies, in English, Tamil and Malayalam and, recently, also of a doctoral dissertation. The significance of the present volume, however, rests on two counts : (1) It introduces the works of Nilakantha, which are remarkable for their graceful diction, mature thought and worldly wisdom and characterised by subtle humour, wit and sarcasm, to the French reading public, through the excellent French rendering and copious editorial notes added to the critical edition of the texts which are printed in bold and attractive Devanāgarī script, reminiscent of the early European editions of Sanskrit texts. (2) It edits, for the first time, the *Gurutattvamālikā* on renunciation and life of liberation, which is, possibly, one of the last and most mature of the author's writings.

The other texts included in the volume, viz., the satires *Kalividambana* and *Sabhārañjana*, the century of piquant epigrams entitled *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, the philosophical hymns *Śivotkarṣamañjarī*, *Cañḍīrahasya*, *Raghuvīrastava* and *Ānandasāgarastava* and the two

works exposing the frailties of mundane life and extolling renunciation thereof, viz., *Sāntivilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*, have already been published, though some of these publications are, now, out of print. The distinction in the present publication, however, is that all these texts are presented here in their critical editions. There again, the commentary of *Śivānandatīrtha* has been added to *Śivotkarṣamañjarī* and the numerous references and quotations in the commentary traced to their sources. In the case of *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, the annotatory preambles to the verses by Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Thampuran, as available in a Malayalam edition of the work, have been extracted here.

In an informative Introduction, in 57 pages, the editor gives a short resumé of the works edited, besides putting together and examining critically all available biographical and other information about Nilakantha. In an Appendix are extracted passages from some later works where biographical details about Nilakantha Dikṣita are to be found. Ten illustrations of places and objects connected with Nilakantha tend to impart a living touch to the texts and to bring the personality of the author closer to the readers.

All thanks are due to the editor, P. S. Filliozat, for placing before readers an immaculate edition with elucidatory notes, of some of the fine works of Nilakantha Dikṣita. The readers of the present volume will eagerly look forward to the early publication of the further parts of the 'Collected Works'.

K. V. SARMA

*GīTĀÑJALI* ( Sanskrit Translation of Rabindranatha Tagore's *Gitāñjali*) by N. Gopala Pillai. Published by Mrs. N. Gopala Pillai, Kumaramangalam, Vazhuthacaud, Trivandrum, 1969. Pp. xvi, 103. Rs. 5.

The *Gitāñjali* of Gurudev Tagore has rightly been acclaimed as one of the most outstanding poetic productions of this century. The very fact that it was this work that was mainly responsible for the award of the Nobel Prize for literature to the poet is ample testimony for this. The supreme glory of the lyrical songs of the human soul contained in *Gitāñjali* by "the magical blending of the sensuous facts with supersensuous fancies" has really no exact parallel anywhere else. But, of late, a tendency seems to be developing to consider the work

as "poor" compared with the other writings of Tagore, that there is nothing original at all in the perceptions and institutions about which the poet sings in the *Gitāñjali*, that it treats of traditional religious experience in traditional language without subtlety or depth, and that only as songs are they beautiful with their enchanting melodies. Still, inspite of such observations, *Gitāñjali* has been translated into many of the other Indian languages including Sanskrit, the greatest language of our culture.

Complete metrical translations into Sanskrit of the *Gitāñjali*, direct from the original Bengali, have been made by Kalipada Tarkavageesa and also by Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha and from the English version by Pullel Sriramachandra. Select portions have been translated by many, among whom may be mentioned Indramohan Chakravarthi, Sailendranath Maulik, Durgadas Gosvami, Krishnan Namputiri and Subbarama Sastri. Some of these have been published in the *Saṁskritaravīndram*, an anthology of Sanskrit translations of Tagore's writings, brought out by the Central Sahitya Akademi in 1966.

The work reviewed here is a metrical Sanskrit translation based on the English version of the *Gitāñjali*, by the late Prof. N. Gopala Pillai who has made his mark as a particularly gifted scholar, eminently suited to render in fine Sanskrit great poems from other languages, by his mellifluous renderings of *Cintāviṣṭayāya Sīta* (*Ātāvicāralaharī*) of Kumāran Āśān and *Premasaṅgītam* of Ullūr S. Parameswara Aiyer, two of the greatest Malayalam poets of modern times. Himself a poet of fine sensibility and a critic of keen insight, Prof. Pillai has been able to capture the spirit of the poems in the *Gitāñjali* and render them in Sanskrit in appropriate expressions, and the *Gitāñjali* being an 'Offering of Songs', (Tagore himself has said, "Our words don't speak, they sing"), the translator has chosen, throughout, musical metres, largely those used by Jayadeva in his *Gitagovinda*. A few poems are in the metre used by Śrī Śaṅkara in his *Mohamudgara*, some in the metres used by Sadāśivabrahmendra for some of his *kīrtanas* and one in a metre current in Kerala. Thus, as in the original, in the translation also the musical element pervades, though in a slightly different form.

As an illustration of the fidelity of the translation to the original may be given the first verse of the 37th *gīta* :

"I thought that my voyage had come to its end at the last limit of my power, —that the path before me was closed, that provisions were exhausted and the time come to take shelter in a silent obscurity."

akalayam avasitam iha me yānam  
 śakter mama carame sīmñī  
 sarañih purato mama pihiteti  
 vyayitānyapi pātheyāñītī  
 ajanatatve nibhṛte hyabhayam  
 yātum samayaḥ sañjāta iti.

It may be noted that the word *pātheya* here is more appropriate and expressive than *provisions* in the original.

The book contains a learned Introduction making an assessment of the original as well as of the translation by the well-known scholar and writer Sri Śūrānāḍ Kunjan Pillai, a close friend of the translator. One can fully endorse the statement therein that the translation preserves the spirit and subtleties of thought in the original and displays consummate felicity and elegance of expression.

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**GLEANINGS FROM THE VEDAS, A CENTURY OF MORALS ETC.,**  
 Sanskrit text edited with English translation, By P. Krishna-  
 murthi, 5677, St. Mary's Road, Secunderabad, 1965-69.

We had the occasion to review in two previous numbers of this *Journal*, viz., 4 (1966) 122-23 and 7 (1969) 197-98, the edition and translation by Shri P. Krishnamurthi, a dedicated Sanskrit and Telugu scholar of Andhra Pradesh, of some of the choice minor works in Sanskrit in the fields of *Stotra*, *Nīti* etc. He has now offered another bunch of eleven 'flowers', being the result of his further endeavours in the same direction. These include *Gleanings from the Vedas* on social obligations, family life, scientific glimpses etc.; *A century of Morals*, being the *Nītiśataka* of Bhārtṛhari; *Moral precepts*, wherein he has put together a hundred select verses from Cāṇakya's *Nītiśataka*; some of the notable psalms of Śaṅkarācārya, being the *Saundaryalaharī*, *Bhaja Govindam*, *Hymns to Viśvanātha and Annapūrṇā*, *A hymn to Candraśekhara* and *Hymn to Bhavānī*; the elevating hymn of high philosophic import, entitled *Hastāmalakastotra* by Śaṅkara's disciple Hastāmalaka; *A hymn to Venkateswara*, containing the well-known *Veṅkaṭeśvara-suprabhāta*, *Stotra*, *Prapatti* and *Māngala*; and the *Śrīstuti* of the great Vaiṣṇava saint *Vedāntadeśika*.

All the books are supplied with short Forewords and Prefaces which provide the essential background needed for the proper study of the texts that follow. Translations in English are given below or facing the Sanskrit text, which, latter, is printed in Telugu script. It may be noted here that the popularity of these books could be greatly increased by printing the text also in Devanagari. And, this would not be a problem since, as it is, much space is being left blank on the textual pages which could be used advantageously to print the Devanagari text. Then again, the English renderings are generally more free than literal. Cf., for instance :

*boddhāro matsara-grastāḥ prabhavaḥ smayadūṣitāḥ |  
ajñānopahatāś cānye śūnyam aṅge subhaṣitam ||*

“The wise are *filled* with *envy and jealousy*, and the rich are *blinded* with *arrogance*. The others are *not gifted with intelligence*. Hence, the precepts *I wanted to teach* are suppressed within myself.” The expression *na tu pratinivisṭamūrkha janacittam ārādhayet*, is translated in two different ways: (1) “But the obstinate cannot be convinced.” (2) “But it is impossible to please the mind of a foolish man.” (*A century of morals*, pp. 1, 3). *nahi nahi rakṣati dukñ karaṇe*, is rendered as “*The knowledge of grammatical aphorisms does not avail thee*” (*Bhaja Govindam*, p. 8). It may be seen that the words in italics are not exact renderings of the corresponding Sanskrit original. Instances of this type can be multiplied. The renderings can be made to agree more with the text, without sacrificing readability, by adopting identical constructions wherever possible, bracketing extra words and, when necessary, adding footnotes.

Through his publications, which are all cheaply priced, Shri Krishnamurthi is, indeed, doing a commendable service not only to the propagation of Sanskrit literature but also to Indian culture in general.

K.V. SARMA

*PRAŚASTI-KĀŚIKA* of Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, critically edited by K.V. Sarma. Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1967. Pp. xxv, 60. Rs. 6.

Sending of messages had already developed into an art in ancient India. In addition to the skill in the oral transmission of messages,

the appropriate wording of the messages was of great importance, especially in political and social life. A regular convention for letter-writing emerged with specifications for such matters as how to begin a letter, how to end it, how to seal it, what sort of writing material was to be used, how to address it according to the status of the person to whom it was being addressed etc. The letters were rightly called *praśasti*, indicating that they were not dry message-tunnels but kept in view the emotional side. Dalapatirāya classifies them under three heads, viz., *Sandesātmaka* (dealing with personal affairs), *Vyavahārātmaka* (legal) and *Nidesātmaka* (political).

The work under review is a manual to formal letter-writing as was practised in mediaeval India and supplies model preambles to suit different correspondents and differing circumstances. According to the author, letters are to begin variously depending on the caste, position or the relationship of the addressee to the writer. There are specimens in both prose and verse, the former being mostly ornate and interspersed with short expressions giving the idea of the prose called the *utkalikāprāya* mixed with the *cūrṇaka*. This would show that the author, living in the latter part of the seventeenth century, is not free from the dazzle of the gorgeous style. At times, one is apt to feel that the personal style of the author supersedes the usefulness of his work. However, the point is not how far these preambles, in themselves, are useful, today, for the purpose for which they have been meant by the author; their importance lies in their depicting a stage in Indian literary and social history; and from this point of view, the use of this work for the students of Sanskrit, as also for those who want to make a study of letter-writing in ancient India, is immense.

In his very illuminating introduction, Prof. Sarma gives a resumé of the history of the art and science of letter-writing in ancient and mediaeval India. The large number of the available manuscripts of the present work points its popularity. Prof. Sarma has based his edition on eleven manuscripts and has given information of the rest. He has also presented valuable information about the author in addition to a critical study of the work. The get-up and printing of the publication are pleasing.

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*ŚRĪ-TILAKA-YASO'RNAVĀH.* by Madhava Srihari Aney.  
 Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Poona, vol. II, 1969.  
 P. 12, 10, 275-491, 11 ; Pls. 2, 2, 18. Rs. 40.

The publication of Volume II of the M. S. Aney's *Śrī-Tilakayas'orṇava*, being the 12,000-verse biography, in Sanskrit, of the Indian freedom fighter, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, close on the heels of the issue of Vol. I of the work, is most welcome. We had the occasion to review in detail, in the last issue of our *Journal*, 7 (1969) 193-97, the First Volume of this biography. That volume contained cantos 1 to 25 of the work, which dealt with the first phase of Tilak's life, from his birth in 1856 to his release, in 1900, after his first incarceration in the Yerawada jail as a punishment for national activities. The second Volume, under review, contains cantos 26 to 41, which deal with the second phase of his life, up to his release in 1914 from imprisonment in Mandalay, again, for national activities.

The period of Tilak's life portrayed in the present volume, in which he matured into one of the leading lights of the Indian national movement, is significant on several counts, to wit, his rebuttal of certain securrilous writings in the *Times* and the *Globe* of London and the apology tendered by these papers, the successful struggle launched against the notorious Partition of Bengal imposed by Lord Curzon in 1903, the acrimonious Surat session of the Indian National Congress in 1907, which, all but split that organisation, and the involvement of Tilak in sedition resulting in his being deported to Burma and imprisoned in the Mandalay jail for six years. There is a thrill when the poet fancies how Tilak accepted his jail life in distant Mandalay as if in a hermitage and how, for all the physical and mental churning that he was subjected to, there arose the essence in the form of his *magnum opus*, viz., his commentary *Gitārahasya* on the *Bhagavadgītā*.

All the above and a host of attendant events receive detailed treatment in this volume through simple and straight-forward narration, characterised by lucidity of expression and gracefulness of diction, for representative illustrations of which, and for comments on other aspects of the work we may refer the interested reader to our review referred to above of the First Volume of the book.

While congratulating the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth for the expeditious publication of the present volume, the Sanskrit reading public will look forward to the equally expeditious issue of the Third and last volume of the work.

K.V. SARMA

*GANDHIGAURAVAM*, By Ramesh Chandra Shukla, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Shri Varshneya College, Aligarh, 1969. Pp. (2), 18, Rs. 1/-.

The *Gāndhigaurava* ('Greatness of Gandhi') is a rosary of 125 exquisite verses dedicated to the father of the Indian nation on the occasion of his birth-centenary in 1969. On the general framework of the eventful life of Mahatma Gandhi, the author gives prominent expression to the main phases of Gandhi's personality and teachings. The Mahatma's advocacy of the eradication of untouchability (vv. 63-71), adoption of *Ahimsā* as a political doctrine (vv. 72-76) and sustained work for national education (vv. 77-83) have been forcefully brought out. The clarion call raised by Gandhi for a peaceful revolution to free India from foreign yoke (vv. 41-50), in clear, telling words, is thrilling. See, for instance the verse :

लक्ष्यस्य लब्ध्ये करणीयमस्ति  
चान्दोलनं यत् सुतरां भवद्भुः ।  
शस्त्रत्रयं तत्र भवेत् प्रयुक्तं  
सत्यं, हृषिसा, निजदेशवासः ॥ ४७ ॥

His lofty teachings in the political, moral and spiritual spheres, as summed up in verses 104-18 are very instructive.

Couched in direct and forceful language and composed with obvious sincerity of feeling, the *Gāndhigaurava* touches the heart of the reader. The book is, indeed, a worthy addition to *Gandhiana* in Sanskrit.

K.V. SARMA

*ŚRĪ-NEHRU-CARITĀM*, By Brahmananda Shukla. Sharada Sadan, 38 Radhakrishna, Khurja (U. P.), 1969. Pp. (12), 16, 239. Rs. 12.

*Sri-Nehru-Caritam*, by the late Pt. Brahmananda Shukla, an erudite scholar and poet in Sanskrit, is a welcome addition to

the biographical literature in Sanskrit on Jawaharlal Nehru, who is, perhaps, the foremost among the builders of modern India. The work is couched in the form of a *mahakāvya*, in 18 cantos. The author wields a facile pen and the poem is written in a simple and pleasing style.

The work begins with a charming description of Kashmir, from where the Nehru family hailed. An account of Motilal Nehru, father of Jawahar Lal, his settling down at Allahabad and his close association with Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya follows in continuation. The birth of Jawahar Lal, his education and his identifying himself with national activities follow next (cantos 4-14). Nehru's services as the first Prime Minister of free India, from 1947 till his death in 1964, are recounted in the last four cantos.

The merits of the poem are apparent throughout the book. The description of spring in canto 13 is delectable. Simile, metaphor, and other figures of speech are judiciously and effectively used by the author (*cf.* 13. 22 ; 50 ; 51 ; 17.50 ; 18.40). The delineation of pathos in the last canto (vv. 62-67) is touching.

A drawback from which the book suffers is the non-indication of dates, at least, of the important events it describes, which, as a biography of modern times, the book should have made at appropriate places. There is also some imbalance in the importance given to the subjects treated. Thus, while 14 cantos are devoted to the first period of Nehru's life, upto 1947, when India gained its Independence, the events of the next seventeen years, during which Nehru shaped the destiny of India as the biggest democracy in the world, are summed up, all too briefly, in four cantos.

A simple and very readable Hindi rendering of the Sanskrit verses in prose by Krishnakant Shukla is bound to be helpful in introducing the book to Hindi readers as also to learners of Sanskrit through Hindi. The book is excellently printed and produced. It is to be hoped that it will find favour with cultured readers both of Sanskrit and of Hindi.

S. P. BHARDWAJ  
V. I. S. I. S., Hoshiarpur

*TILAKAMAÑJARĪSĀRA* OF *PALLIPĀLA DHANAPĀLA*, Critically edited with an Introduction, by Narayan Manilal Kansara. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1969. Pp. 40, 96. Rs. 12.

The Sanskrit prose romance, *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, a court poet of the Paramāra emperors Muñja Vākpatirāja and his more illustrious successor, Bhoja of Dhārā, seems to have enjoyed a fair measure of popularity in Jain literary circles, in as much as three authors of the later period have tried their literary skill in presenting the story in their own metrical compositions. The earliest of these three is the *Tilakamañjarīsāra* of Pallipāla Dhanapāla, written in Samvat 1261, i.e., 1204 A. D. A second version by Lakṣmīdhara, known as *Tilakamañjarīkathāsāra* was composed in the Samvat year 1281, i.e., 1224 A. D. A third version known variously as *Tilakamañjarīprabandha* or *Tilakamañjarīkathoddhāra* is attributed to Padmasāgara. It is the *Tilakamañjarīsāra* of Pallipāla Dhānapāla, which has been published and is being reviewed here.

As stated by the editor, only one manuscript of this work is available, and the present edition is based on this single manuscript. The editor has thus been freed from the laborious task of collation. However, he does not seem to have bestowed enough care on the editorial work. In the very first verse we notice a glaring mistake. In the second *pāda* of this verse we find *yasyāṁśataṭayoh* for the obvious *yasyāṁsataṭayoh*.

The book has an Introduction of 40 pages, which contains, (1) a summary of the story as told in the original prose romance of Dhanapāla, (2) an account of the life of Pallipāla, (3) a reference to the date of Pallipāla, (4) a summary of the *Tilakamañjarīsāra* of Pallipāla, canto by canto, and (5-6) a comparative evaluation of the versions of Lakṣmīdhara and Padmasāgara, vis-a-vis, Dhānapāla, the author of *Tilakamañjarī*.

The details about the life of Pallipāla are based on his own account given at the end of the work. The editor has little to add to it. Regarding the date of Pallipāla we come across a very intriguing statement. The editor has said, "As to the date of the work Dhanapāla has noted it very exactly, which in its turn *at least* proves beyond doubt that he was a Jain author." But we do not find anything peculiarly Jainistic in the manner in which the date is given. Further, we

fail to appreciate the force of the words 'at least'. We hope the editor does not mean to say that this statement may not settle the date of *Pallipāla*, but it does prove that he was a Jain.

The editor has not been careful in the use of the language. For instance, he repeatedly uses the word 'faction' in the sense of 'sect', with reference to the two well-known sects of the Jains, Digambara, and Śvetāmbara. The word 'faction' has a derogatory sense and should have been avoided. There are a number of other instances. There are several misprints also, but one at page 1 must be pointedly mentioned. In the last line we find 'chacely' which does not yield any sense. If it be taken as 'chancely', there is no such word.

Towards the end of the Introduction, Shri Kansara becomes unnecessarily critical of veteran scholars like A. B. Keith and S. K. De. As a fervent Jain, Shri Kansara may or may not relish the remarks of these scholars about the literary merits of the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, but it is an undeniable fact that the work shows no originality either in the plot or the style. It has been rightly remarked by the savants that it is a mere copy of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in both respects.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

*KALPALATĀVIVEKA*, By an anonymous author, Ed. by Murari Lal Nagar and Harishankar Shastri, with an English Introduction by P. R. Vora. L. D. Institute of Indology. Ahmedabad-9, 1968. [Pp. 6, 168, iv, 8, 359. Pl. 1. Rs. 32.

The unusual phenomenon of an aphoristic text and the author's own elucidation thereon having been lost and a sub-commentary alone having survived occurs in the case of the *Kalpalatāviveka* edited in the publication reviewed here. Thus, our basic text *Kalpalatā*, a work on Sanskrit poetics, by Ambāprasāda, a minister of King Siddharāja of Gujarat (A. D. 1094-1143) and its auto-commentary, *Pallava*, are apparently lost. What we have now is only an elaborate but anonymous commentary called *Viveka* which avers, at its commencement, that it intends to supplement the auto-commentary by dealing with such parts and aspects of the text which have not been suitably dealt with in the former. This supplementation is evident through the entire work. The basic text is restricted to four main aspects of poetics, as set out

in its four sections entitled, respectively, *Doṣadarśana*, *Guṇavivecana*, *Śabdalaṅkāradarśana* and *Arthalaṅkāranirṇaya*. The *Viveka*, in its elaborateness, brings in many other topics, to wit, the potency (*sakti*) of words, the theory of *Dhvani*, *Rasa*, *Bhāva* etc., the *Prastāra* of metres (pp. 191-223), *Citrakāvya* (pp. 224-227), logic and epistemology (pp. 45-65) etc. The commentator has in his repertory not only the standard works on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* by Bharata, Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Bhoja etc. and standard *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas*, but also the different *Darśanas*, both orthodox and heterodox, from all of which he quotes profusely. In spite of the fact that the long quotations do not, often, add to the reader's knowledge, they have a redeeming feature in that they enable many corrupt or doubtful passages in texts like Bhāmaha's *Kāvyalaṅkāra* and Abhinavagupta's *Locana* and *Abhinavabhāratī*, to be correctly restored.

The work is edited on the basis of three reliable manuscripts, none of which is far removed from its date of composition and one of which, dated Sam. 1205 (A. D. 1149), is, possibly, even contemporary to the commentator.

The 168-page Introduction, contributed to the edition by Prof. P. R. Vora, is a masterpiece of analytical exposition of and critical supplement to the *Viveka*, which, in its elaborateness, is confusing, at places. After a discussion on the identity of the *Kalpalatā*, its author and its date, the Introduction passes on to an elaborate analytical study of the *Viveka*. Herein, Prof. Vora has taken pains to set out, in proper perspective, the argumentation of the Sanskrit text, by tracing out, referring to and, often, quoting the authorities which the *Viveka* relies upon, substantiates or controverts.

It is to be hoped that the intimate acquaintance with the basic text *Kalpalatā*, gained by Prof. Vora and the editors, by their detailed work on the *Viveka*, would induce them to attempt some sort of a reconstruction of the *Kalpalatā* and also to look for manuscripts thereof, for it should be easy for them to recognize such manuscripts even if those manuscripts be incomplete or otherwise defective.

The edition has been provided with indexes of : (1) Verses quoted, (2) Completed verses of partial quotations, (3) Prose passages quoted, and (4) Select proper names. The volume could be made more reference-worthy by combining the Indexes 1 to 3 into one and making the

fourth, exhaustive, instead of being selective. In fact, the fund of information contained in the volume requires an elaborate and fully cross-referenced Subject Index if it is to serve, also, as a book of reference. The publication deserves more careful proof-reading ; many more printer's errors exist in it than are indicated in the two errata included in it.

The volume is well printed and got-up.

K. V. SARMA

*VYĀSA-SUBHASITA-SĀNGRAHA*, Cr. ed. by Ludwik Sternbach.  
Chowkhamba Sanskrit 'Series Office, Varanasi-1, 1969.  
Pp. xxxvi, 50. Rs. 10.

In his scholarly quest after Sanskrit epigrams, being a by-product of his investigations into the *Cāṇakya-nīti*-text-tradition, Dr. Sternbach has come across a hitherto unrecognised South Indian anthology attributed to Vyāsa, which he presents, in the book reviewed here, in a critical edition. The work is preserved in two palmleaf manuscripts, one in Malayalam and the other in Grantha script, and in a Ceylonese work called *Vyāsakāraya*. A further ancillary source is the South Indian anthology *Sūktiratnahāra*, which contains more than half of our verses. All the verses constituting the work are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and many of them are instances of *Arthāntaranyāsa*, which is the substantiation of an observation by citing a general truism. Everyone of the verses embodies, in a nutshell, a thought-provoking bit of worldly wisdom which effectively impinges into our mind. Who, for instance, will fail to sit up and think for a moment at statements like the following :

दारिद्र्यस्य परा मूर्तिर्यच्जा न द्रविणालप्ता ।  
जरदगवधनः शम्भुस्तथापि परमेश्वरः ॥ १ ॥  
देहीति वचनं कष्टं नास्तीति वचनं तथा ।  
देहि नास्तीति वचनं मा भूजन्मनि जन्मनि ॥ ४४ ॥

The individual verses are correlated to their other primary and secondary sources; their variant readings are also scrupulously recorded, enabling comparative and critical study on each. A few readings adopted in the critical text are, however, suspect. Thus, in verse 31,

*dr̥syate* has to be *dásyate*; and in verse 83, *tyaktadhairyah* does not make sense ; it has to be *vyaktadhairyah* (variant). *Mahāgaṇavataye namah* on p. 36, line 13, and *vikalpaśam* on p. 37, line 2 are obvious scribal or printer's errors.

The half-title of the text, on the page following the Introduction, calls it 'Text reconstructed'. This is an obvious misnomer since the present text is just an edition from its two primary manuscripts A and B; other materials come in only as external testimonia.

Well printed and produced, the present edition of a century verses ascribed to Vyāsa is a welcome addition to printed anthologies in Sanskrit.

K. V. SARMA

*MALAYAMĀRUTA*, Part I, Ed. by V. Raghavan. The Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, February, 1966, Pp. xii, 127. Rs. 5/-.

It was a happy thought on the part of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati, to start a periodical entitled *Malayamāruta*, for the publication of minor poems, plays, hymns, anthologies etc. in Sanskrit, on the lines of the highly popular *Kāvyamālā Gucchakas*, which were being issued by the N.S. Press, Bombay. The inaugural 'Spanda' of the *Māruta* before us, dated 1966, carries nine pieces, including four hymns, three didactic collections, a poetic description of the seasons and a farce, some of these having been edited from their only available manuscripts.

The opening piece on *Ucchiṣṭa Gaṇapati* has ingrained in it His *mantras*. Another hymn, entitled *Upadeśāśikhāmaṇi*, is a fine imitation of Śaṅkara's well-known stotra, *Bhaja Govindam*. *Kavitāmṛtakūpa* and *Narābharaṇa* are two short but instructive anthologies. *Somanāthaśataka* is a didactic piece with an amount of śleṣa thrown in. The last item, *Vibudhamohana* is a mediocre force. All the pieces are interesting in one way or another.

This periodical has been born as a result of a long cherished desire of the editor and is published under exalted auspices. As such, it is unfortunate that no further number has been published during the last nearly five years now. Lovers of Sanskrit would highly appreciate the said long gap being filled up expeditiously and the periodical put on its stride as a punctual publication.

K.V. SARMA

HEMACANDRASŪRI'S *NIGHANTUŚEŚA*, With Vācanācārya Śrī Śrivallabha Gaṇī's commentary, Ed. by Muniraja Sri Punyavijayaji. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1968. Pp. 30, 367. Rs. 30.

Hemacandra, (A.D. 1088-1172), the Jain polymath of Gujarat, surnamed *Kalikālasarvajñā* for his versatility and prolific writings, has also compiled a number of lexicons, among which the *Nighaṇṭuśeśa*, edited here, pertains to plant-life. An imperfect edition of this work is available, included in the N.S. Press edition of *Abhidhānasaṅgraha*, but the present publication offers a critical edition of the work with a hitherto unpublished scholarly commentary by the 17th century Jain monk Śrivallabha Gaṇī of the Bṛhatkharatara-gaccha. The commentator is evidently an accomplished lexicographer and grammarian, as could be seen from the wealth of quotations that he presents and the grammatical observations that he offers on the words commented. The way he explains the title of the work is ingenious. After explaining *Nighaṇṭu* as a 'collection of words' (*nitarām ghaṇṭyante ekatra bhāṣyante śabdā aneneti nighaṇṭuh*), he continues : *śiṣ hiṁsāyām. śiṣyate vicitra-vanaspaty-abhidhānajāḍyam vā aneneti hiṁsyate 'śeṣā'*, i.e., *śeṣā* means 'something that destroys' the ignorance, here, about the names of plants.

Hemacandra's work is more methodical than the previous compilations of the class. Thus, instead of the rather arbitrary classifications of herbs, adopted by them, as *āmrādi*, *gudūcyādi* etc., Hemacandra divides the entire plant-life into six categories and treats each of them in a separate section of his work. Cf. :

वृक्ष-गुलम-लता-शाक-तृण-धान्य-क्रमादिह ।  
षट् काण्डानि प्रवक्ष्यामि सप्तम्युद्योगपूर्वकम् ॥

The present edition is provided with eight useful indexes : (1) Variant readings. (2) Words in the *Nighantuśeśa*. (3) Regional names used by the commentator, with additional names supplied by Shri Bapalal Vaidya of Surat. (4) Regional names found as *marginalia* in an early manuscript of the work. (5) Passages quoted by the commentator. (6-7) Works and authors cited in the commentary. (8) Passages from the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* quoted by the commentary contrasted with the corresponding passages in the *Nighaṇṭu* itself. This last provides an illustration of how corruptions get into technical texts and forms a good exercise in textual criticism,

The other indexes, useful, indeed, though they are, give rise in the mind of the reader to a feeling that they have been compiled for their own sake, possibly under the impression that the larger the number of indexes an edition of a text has, the more critical it is. However, it has to be noted that it would facilitate easier reference and insure against the possibility of items being missed if they are all given in one alphabetical sequence, anything special about any entry being given alongside, in abbreviations, within brackets. A student of Rājasthāni would not care, at least, at his first approach, whether a Rājasthāni word which he wants to look up has been used by Śrivallabha Gaṇi or found in the *marginalia* of a manuscript or was supplied by Bapalal Vaidya, which three are, now, given in three different places in the publication under review. He would, rather, like to know whether the word occurs at all anywhere in the book and, then, look for further nuances.

The volume carries a highly informative Introduction by Bapalal Vaidya. This publication is, definitely, a valuable contribution to printed literature on Indian *materia medica*.

K. V. SARMA

*THE DHVĀNI THEORY IN SANSKRIT POETICS*, By Mukunda Madhava Sharma. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi-1, 1968. Pp. xxiii, 288. Rs. 25.

In a short Foreword to the book reviewed here, Dr. Satkari Mookerjee draws attention to "the facile impression that the *Dhvani* theory has been exhausted by modern writers", and remarks: "The contour and the main signposts have been surveyed. But the hidden resources lying in the unplumbed depths are to be discovered and the implications and suggestions have to be worked out." It is to this desideratum that our author has directed his attention in the present book, which formed his doctoral dissertation approved by the Calcutta University.

In the Introduction, being Chapter I of the book, the author gives, briefly, the background: genesis of Sanskrit poetics, evolution of the several schools of rhetoric, the advent *Dhvani* and the reactions it raised. Chapter II is taken up by an exposition of the doctrine of *Dhvani* and Chapter III with that of *Rasa*. Chapter IV concerns itself with the function of *Vyañjanā*, as viewed by

different theorists. In Chapter V, which concludes the book, the author sets out his views about the applicability of the *Dhvani* doctrine to the criticism of modern literature.

What is noticeable through the entire volume is a freshness of approach to the subject, as a whole. Though the basic source-books are the same and the *Dhvani* school has been the subject of study in several earlier treatises, here, a number of new topics of a minor nature and novel nuances pertaining to topics casually treated by others are selected for discussion and fresh sidelights thrown on many a problem. In Ch. I, where the author demonstrates how earlier thoughts and ideas shaped the *Dhvani* doctrine (pp. 33-43), he has brought in points which have not been properly stressed before. This observation holds good in several other discussions as well, like, for instance, the purpose of composing *Dhvani* poetry (pp. 72-76), the position of figures of speech (pp. 120-30) etc. His correlation of Bharata's *Rasasūtra* with the concept of the *Objective correlative*, propounded by T.S. Eliot, (pp. 183-84) is instructive. It is stressed that the perfect appreciation of a literary piece and the realisation of the sentiments depicted, take place only when the poet, the character portrayed and the reader (or spectator, as the case may be) are atune with the sentiment delineated (p. 68). Pointed statement of other's views and the refutation thereof by equally pointed arguments based on the views of Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and later exponents of the *Dhvani* doctrine, is a characteristic of the book; Cf., the treatment of the views of Mukulabhaṭṭa who avers that all cases of suggested sense could be brought under *Lakṣaṇā* (pp. 224-34).

The concluding chapter (pp. 238-75) is particularly interesting, for the discussion in it, of the views of certain modern exegetists of Indian poetics, like Rakesh Gupta and K.N. Watwe and of certain rhetoricians of the West. An observation, to which the author draws attention, in this context, is that of the modern English poet Robert Graves, who says: "I write poems for poets.....To write poems for other than poets is wasteful", because poetry will be unintelligible to the uninitiated. What a contrast to the expressed dictum of the Indian rhetorician Ānandavardhana who insists on the clarity of the implied sense in every type of *Dhvani* poetry. Cf. *Dhvanyāloka* 2.31-32 :

यत्र प्रतीयमानोऽर्थः प्रम्लिष्टत्वेन भासते ।  
वाच्यस्याङ्गतया वापि नास्यासौ गोचरो ध्वनेः ॥

"If in a literary piece, the implied sense is such that it can be understood only with great difficulty or if it is subordinate to the expressed sense, in either case, that literary piece is not to be taken as *Dhvani* poetry."

सर्वेष्वेव प्रभेदेषु स्फुटत्वेनावभासनम् ।

यद्व्यञ्जनस्याङ्गभूतस्य तत् पूर्णं ध्वनिलक्षणम् ॥

"The full definition of *Dhvani*, in all its varieties, implies the *clear manifestation* and main importance of the suggested sense."

While we congratulate the author at the production of this valuable monograph, we look forward to his more extensive treatise devoted to a correlation of the theory of *Dhvani* with western thoughts and symbolism, which he says in his Preface to the present book (p. xii) that he has practically completed.

While the book is well got-up, it suffers from two drawbacks, to wit : (1) the use of a monotonous, nondistinct typography for all items, such as the text, the technical terms, Sanskrit quotations, etc., and (2) a profusion of printer's errors, both of which have to be remedied in a future edition.

K.V. SARMA

*GADYACINTAMANI* OF *VĀDIBHA SIMHA SŪRĪ*, with Hindi Introduction, Translation, Sanskrit *Tikā*, Appendices etc., by Pannalal Jain. Bharatiya Jananapith, Varanasi-5, 1968. Pp. (8), 40, 457. Rs. 12.

The *Gadyacintāmani* of the 11th century Digambara Jain poet *Vādibha Simha Odayadeva*, hailing from the extreme south of India, is important for two reasons : Firstly for its being a masterly literary piece in Sanskrit and, secondly, for its being an effective illustration through an interesting narrative, of the main tenets of Jain religion and way of life. Based on Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, the work retells, in eleven *lambakas*, the story of king Satyandhara and his son Jivandhara, the latter, ultimately, turning a Jain monk in search of mental peace and spiritual solace. The work follows the highflown style of the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa with a fair measure of success. The language of the work, though abounding in long compounds, is comparatively easy and graceful.

There are two earlier editions of the *Gadyacintāmani* (Madras, 1902, and Srirangam, 1916). The importance of the present edition, however, lies in its (1) being a critical edition based on fresh manuscripts, (2) having a commentary in simple Sanskrit written by the editor and (3) having been supplied with a readable Hindi translation, aimed at introducing the work to Hindi readers. The text, commentary and the translation have been printed, one below the other, in the same pages, making it convenient for the student to study the book. The editor has prefixed the volume with an informative Introduction and has added, towards the end of the publication, seven useful Appendices, of which the first, being a short summary, in verse, of the central plot of the narrative, and the last, being a glossary of select words, with meanings and references, deserve special mention.

Attractively printed and produced, the present edition of *Gadyacintāmani* will be warmly welcomed by all students of Sanskrit.

K.V. SARMA

*JAMBŪSAMICARIU OF VIRAKAVI*, Ed. by Vimal Prakash Jain. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi-5, 1968. Pp. 16, 151, 401. Rs. 15.

In the text-tradition of the Jain scriptures, the role played by Jambūsvāmin (*nirvāṇa* 463 B.C.), grandpupil of Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism, is unique. The *Āṅga* texts which constitute the prime scripture of Jainism were imbibed from Māhavīra by his pupil Sudharman, who communicated them to his pupil Jambūsvāmin. And, it was through the discourses of Jambūsvāmin that posterity received the entire Jain canon. The exalted position of this redactor of the Jain scriptures is attested by the nearly hundred biographical accounts of him, composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi through such literary media as prose, verse, drama, song and stotra. The *Jambūśamicariu* before us is a full-fledged *mahakāvya* in eleven cantos, composed in the Apabhramśa language in A. D. 1019 by Virakavi, an erudite poet of the Mālava region. Sanskrit versions of this work like the *Jambūsvāmicaritra* of Brahma Jinadāsa (A.D. 1464) and of Rājamalla (A.D. 1576) bear evidence to the popularity of Virakavi's work.

The *Jambūśāmicariu* is critically edited here on the basis of five manuscripts, three of which contain marginal notes in Sanskrit, which latter have been included as an Appendix towards the end of the edition. A very readable Hindi rendering supplied by the editor below the text is extremely helpful in understanding the Apabhramśa text. Among the appendices to the edition, the most important is an exhaustive glossary of Apabhramśa words (pp. 288-390) with Sanskrit meanings and textual references.

The main contribution of the editor is a 151-page Introduction which forms a full-fledged critical and comparative study of the work and its author Vīrakavi. The subjects discussed herein include a comparative study of the present work with other similar biographies of Jambūsvāmin, the value and purpose of the illustrative tales that find a place in the narrative and literary and linguistic evaluations of the work. An attempt is made also to cull and present in an arranged manner the cultural and sociological data available in the work.

The present publication is a substantial contribution not only to the Jambūsvāmi tradition but to Apabhramśa studies in general. It is another feather added to the cap of the Bharatiya Jnanapith in their scholarly endeavours to the resuscitation of ancient Apabhramśa and Jain literature.

K. V. SARMA

*THE FOUR YOGAS*, By Swami Atmananda, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Rs. 10.

Although there have been published, during recent years, a number of works dealing with Yoga Philosophy, *The Four Yogas* by Swami Atmananda forms category of its own. The author gives in this book a scientific account of the spiritual discipline called *Sādhanā* as a means, method, path or way for the attainment of a higher life.

*Karma, Bhakti, Rāja* and *Jñāna Yogas*, enunciated, respectively, by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Patañjali and Vyāsa are the four 'Paths' discussed in this book. *Karma-yoga* is the way of selfless work; *Bhakti-yoga* is the way of exclusive devotion to God; *Rāja-yoga* is the control of the senses; *Jñāna-yoga* is the way of wisdom. The author with his knife-edge intellect has cut off the intricacies in these principal *Yogas* or *Sādhanās* and presented them to the reader in their

essential and fundamental aspects as clear paths, each one of which the reader could tread with confidence in order to attain peace and joy. The author's preference, however, is for *Jñāna-yoga* as expounded by Ādi-Śaṅkarācārya.

To-day, science is contributing to the material convenience and comfort of man, so steadily and in such a progressive measure that we now live in a condition of physical ease, incomparably beyond that in which our fore-fathers did. Yet, this has not increased our general happiness or brought us the inward joy of living. Indeed, the failure of science in the procurement of genuine joy is as ignominious as its success in the creation of artificial comforts is wonderful. Science works only with things of passing existence, the destructible materials on the physical plane, whereas the components of peace and joy are the permanent values or the essence of living. To a world precariously poised between war and peace, Swami Atmananda says that spirituality or the understanding of the spirit alone can confer peace on man and make him fit for real joy. The spirit, which is but the universal aspect, is the goal of the seeker everywhere. And, the different religions of the world differ not in this goal, but in the ways which they open to mankind to reach it.

These different paths are different only in their courses. Both at the starting point and at the destination they are together. Although the author holds that the path of knowledge, viz., *Jñāna-mārga*, is the sole channel to perfection, I feel that all the four paths are equally potent to bring about spiritual experience and the Yогin's way is the middle path of judicious moderation. Through this path, one attains peace and tranquillity, and whatever be the work he is engaged in, he is not affected thereby.

That *Yoga* is not one set of disciplines but a large frame of self-development which allows adaptations and variations to suit the equipment and nature of the individuals is also stressed by Swami Atmananda in his book in the hope that these *Yogas* would be useful to the world at this moment of science-mania.

The book deserves to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject and is a practical guide to enlightenment through *Yoga*.

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YOGASARAPRĀBHRTA OF AMITAGATI NIHSĀNGA YOGIRĀJ,  
Ed. and explained by Jugal Kishore Mukhtar 'Yugvir'.  
Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi-5, 1968. Pp. (4), 4, 236. Rs. 8.

The *Yogasāraprābhṛta* of Amitagati, the 10th century Digambara Jain scholar of the Mathurā Saṅgha, is devoted to a systematic analysis of *Yoga* (mental concentration), leading to self-realization and emancipation, according to Jaina metaphysics. In 540 verses, the author analyses the divers aspects, antecedents and accessories of *Yoga*, defines them, specifies their nature and purpose, and explains how one step leads on to another, ultimately enabling one to break the Karmic bondage and cross the worldly travail.

The work is divided into nine sections called *adhikāras*. The first, *Jīvādhikāra*, distinguishes between *Jīva* and *Ajīva* and discusses the nature of the former, while the second, *Ajīvādhikāra*, deals with the latter. The third *adhikāra* deals with *Āsrava*, being the impulses that make the soul indulge in the senses, and the fourth with *Bandha* or Karmic bondage. The next two *adhikāras*, entitled *Samvara* and *Nirjara* are concerned, respectively, with the restraining of the impulses and the shedding of *Karma*. The seventh, entitled *Mokṣādhikāra*, discusses the nature and the process of attaining emancipation, which is defined as follows :

अभावे बन्धहेतुनां निजरायां च भास्वरः ।

समस्तकर्मविश्लेषो मोक्षो वाच्योऽपुनर्भवः ॥

The eighth section, *Cāritrādhikāra*, describes the ideal life of a monk seeking emancipation and the last section entitled *Cūlikādhikāra* sums up the nature and experience of self-realisation. The work, thus, forms a complete analysis of *Yoga* leading to *Mokṣa*.

Our author is, sometimes, identified with Amitagati, the author of the popular works *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha*, *Dharmaparīkṣā* etc. but it has been shown that he was an earlier monk of the same Saṅgha and removed backwards by two generations.

The present edition of the work is based on an old edition and four new manuscripts. The editor has added a Hindi rendering and a detailed and highly referenced commentary, both of which are welcome in view of the highly technical nature of our text. His Introduction is also equally instructive. It may be noted here that an important function of our text is to indicate the divisions and

sub-divisions of the various categories dealt with in the work. It should have been extremely helpful if short tables had been provided, in the Introduction, to demonstrate the divisions coming under each item, so as to enable the reader take in the details at a glance. There is an one-page glossary of technical terms (p. 235), which is, however far from exhaustive ; it omits several terms and also does not give all the references to the terms included. To the fairly exhaustive *Errata*, included towards the end of book, the following might be added : p. 17, v. 22, *jānantathā*→(i.e., to be corrected to) *jānatathā* ; p. 18, v. 24, *paricchitte*→*paricchinte* ; p. 51, v. 25, *kalmaśo-dayataḥ*→*kalmaśodayato*; p. 89, v. 26, *kalmaśānām*→*kalmaśāṇām*; p. 152, v. 46, *bađiśābhiṣa*→*bađiśāmiṣa* ; p. 161, v. 17, *sa prakāśe 'pi*→*saprakāśe 'pi* ; p. 179, v. 57, *yeśāmaneṣaṇā*→*yeśāmaneṣaṇā* ; and p. 193, v. 91, *visaṁvādā*→*visaṁvādo*.

The publication has been very well printed and got-up, the credit for which should go to the Bharatiya Jnanapith.

K.V. SARMA

*THE CONCEPT OF PERFECTION IN THE TEACHINGS OF KANT AND THE GĪTĀ*, By B. S. Gauchhwal. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1967. Pp. ix, 184, Rs. 18.

Most of the traditional philosophers, both of the East and the West, are found indefatigably grappling with 'the question as to the nature of the *summum bonum*, as also the means whereby it could be effectively pursued and attained', although all such attempts cannot enjoy universal agreement in respect of their conclusions. As a student of comparative thought, Dr. Gauchhwal, the author of the work under review is profoundly impressed by the similarities between the essentials of perfection in the teachings of Kant and the *Gītā*. What has inspired him so warmly in the presentation of "the problems of the present topic is the irresistible conviction that two powerful currents of thought, one originating from the East and the other from the West, yet separated from each other by a long period of time, combine together to offer, in almost identical terms, the solution of the meaning and mystery of human life..." (Pp. 178-79). Religion, according to both, Kant and the *Gītā*, is to be called "moral". The *Gītā* teaches that reason, will and devotion are the ways through which the soul can express itself in order to attain an integral divine

life. It seeks to emphasise the fact that "There is nothing on earth equal in purity to spiritual knowledge" (p. 178). God, in Kant's view, is the perfect embodiment of the moral law. The human will is, in its essence, identical with Divine Will. "The moral law is the very essence of a will which has attained perfection." Thus, in Kant's view, "a will in its perfection becomes holy." (p. 59). The *summum bonum*, according to Kant, consists in realising ourselves as the very essence and spirit of the Moral Law in its fullest consummation : "A will whose maxims necessarily coincide with the laws of autonomy is a *holy will, good absolutely*" (Preface, p. x). As Kant says, "the command 'we ought to become better men' resounds with its undiminished force in our soul" (p. 178). The author of the *Gītā* also seems to believe, as S. Radhakrishnan observes, that in perfection "we do not cease to be ourselves, but deepen our selfhood, efface all stains of sin, cut asunder the knot of doubt, master ourselves, and are ever engaged in doing good to all creatures." (p. 89). It is in all its possible implications that the concept of perfection in Kant's system and the *Gītā* has been discussed in the book under review.

In the first two chapters of the book the author has given the historical background of his subject, *viz.*, 'Conquest of Perfection in Indian thought' and 'Concept of Perfection in Western thought'. The next two chapters, III and IV, deal with 'Kant's conception of Perfection' and 'The *Gītā*'s concept of Perfection'. Chapter V constitutes 'A comparative approach' to Perfection according to Kant and the *Gītā*. The two chapters following (VI and VII) deal with 'The *Gītā* way to Perfection' and 'The Kantian way to Perfection'. Chapter VIII presents a 'A comparative approach' to the Kantian and the *Gītā* ways to Perfection. Chapter IX gives the 'Concluding remarks'.

Prof. Gauchhwal's book is indeed a scholarly contribution to the domain of religion and philosophy. The book is of great value to students of philosophy in general and particularly to those devoted to a comparative study of Western and Eastern spiritual values of life.

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*SANATKUMĀRA-SĀMHITĀ* of the Pāñcarātrāgama, Ed. by V. Krishnamacharya. The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras, 1969. Pp. xxv, 534. Rs. 40 / 62 sh. / \$ 8.

The importance of the vast Āgama literature for an all-round study of traditional Hindu life and religion 'in practice' has been recognised for long; however the source-books on the subject being of a technical nature, much of it yet remains to be made available to scholars in standard editions, facilitating such study. The fine edition, by the Adyar library, of *Sanatkumāra-Sāmhitā*, which is one of the canonical texts included in the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, is therefore most welcome.

The present publication is based on six manuscripts, all of which go back to a defective original, as attested by (1) the identical abrupt commencement, in all of them, in the middle of a verse in ch. IV of section I, (2) none of the manuscripts containing the last section and (3) all of them exhibiting common gaps and breaks in the available portion. The manuscripts differ but little from one another in the matter of readings, and generally preserve a correct text.

Even as the other āgamas of the Pāñcarātra group, the present work is in five sections which are here called *Rātra-s*, forming discourses by sage Sanatkumāra on what he imbibed on Vaiṣṇava tantra from Brahmā, Śiva, Indra, the Ṛṣis and Bṛhaspati, respectively. The work deals with numerous of topics, major and minor, like *dīkṣā*, *pūjā*, *yāga*, *homa*, *dāna*, *mantra*, *naivedya*, *mudrā*, *yoga*, *tapas*, iconography, architecture etc., all of them essentially in their relation to Vaiṣṇavite worship, life and culture. And, as such, its importance to the study of Vaiṣṇavite tradition, from ancient ages down to modern times, is immense. Scholars will, therefore, look forward to the early publication of the second volume of the book which is to contain a detailed Introduction with Analyses, Appendices and Indexes.

K. V. SARMA

*ŚRĪPRAŚNA-SĀMHITĀ*, Ed. by Seetha Padmanabhan. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha. Tirupati, 1969. Pp. (7), A-R. lxxxvi, 522. Price not stated.

We have in the book reviewed here, an exquisite edition of yet another text belonging to the Pāñcarātra school of Vaiṣṇava-āgamas, VII VIII (1970) 39

viz., the *Śrīpraśna-Saṁhitā*, called so on account of its being a collection of discourses by God Nārāyaṇa in answer to the questions of Goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī). An ancient Pāñcarātra text entitled *Śrīpraśna-Saṁhitā*, finds mention in early Vaiṣṇavite texts like the *Kapiñjala*, *Hayaśīrṣa* and *Viṣṇu Saṁhitās*, but the text edited here is, obviously, a much later redaction; on the one hand, it quotes from later texts and mentions Muhammadan settlements, both of which vouch for its comparatively late date; on the other hand, some authentic *Śrīpraśna* passages quoted in certain works are not to be found in our text, which would mean that our text is not the complete original text. The detailed treatment, in it, of temple festivals and customs and usage of words in senses peculiar to the Tamil speaking region of South India would suggest that the redaction was produced in that part of the country. Then again, a good deal of material seems to have been incorporated into the redaction from the *Pādma-Saṁhitā* and the *Yogatattva Upaniṣad*. Notwithstanding the contaminative effect on the ancient text, the silver lining in this redaction is that it forms a comprehensive source for the study of Vaiṣṇavite religious life and temple routine in South India during the late mediaeval period. In 53 well-arranged chapters, containing about 6700 verses, is unfolded a vast panorama of temple life and allied activities of every description, to wit, building and renovation of shrines, iconography, consecration, decoration, priests, their training and equipment, *yāga*, *homa* and *prayaścitta*, festivals of all sorts, temple music and dance, efficacious *mantras* and their application etc. The entire treatment is characterised by intimate and detailed knowledge of the subject on the part of the redactor.

The present edition is based on its out-of-print Grantha edition of 1904 and a Madras manuscript which exhibits some differences. The editorial work has been done with scrupulous care. The editor has set out in tables some matters like, *rāgās*, *tālas*, *mudrās*, dances etc., that find mention in the work. Tables of concordance are provided for parallel passages between the *Śrīpraśna-Saṁhitā* and the *Pādma*, *Sattvata* and *Īśvara Saṁhitās* and the *Yogatattva-Upaniṣad*. Both these are useful. However, the *Viśeṣa-Śabdānukramaṇikā* (Glossary of important words) appended to the edition is far from perfect. It contains many common words, like, *Kali* (*yuga*), *kavāṭa*, and *ānanda* in their ordinary senses, etc., does not include special words like *Karmabimba*, *Plavotsava* etc., and the names of several *mudrās*, *rāgas* and *tālas*; and includes mantras like *iṣe tvā*, *imam me varuṇa* etc. Also several of the references even of words included have been left out. Thus the word

*bhaktabimba*, for which p. 160 alone is given as reference, occurs also on pages 194, 223, 404, 405, 406. Verse numbers should have been added to page numbers in giving references. The edition carries no index of the verses ; such an Index, too, would have been useful.

The editor has added to the publication a brief Introduction, which, though informative as far it goes, is, really, far from adequate. For one who uses the edition as a 'text book' the present publication might suffice. But scholars and general students of Indian culture would look for comprehensive analyses and comparative studies in the Introduction. An exposition, in some detail, of the important topics dealt with in the *Samhitā* would also be expected. Only such an Introduction, together, with an exhaustive annotated Subject Index could enable the present edition of this encyclopaedic compilation of Vaiṣṇvite temple ritual and worship fulfil its purpose entirely. Perhaps, the editor could, now, do this in a suitable companion volume.

Students of Indian culture, in general, and of the Pāñcarātra schools of Vaiṣṇava-sampradāya, in particular, would be highly indebted to the editor and publishers for making available to them, a beautifully printed and produced edition of this important work on a phase of practical Hinduism.

K. V. SARMA

*THE DOCTRINE OF RECOGNITION (PRATYABHIJNĀ PHILOSOPHY)*, By R. K. Kaw. Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1967. Pp. xix, 396. Rs. 35.

In the book reviewed here, which formed his Ph.D. thesis approved by the Punjab University at Lahore, Dr. R.K. Kaw seeks to establish that Kashmir Śaivism is nothing but Upaniṣadic teachings based on ancient Āgama-Śāstras. The Āgama-Śāstras are theological treatises and manuals of worship. The three main sects of Hinduism, viz., Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism, base their doctrines and dogmas on their respective Āgamas. The Śaivas recognise twenty-eight Āgamas, of which the chief is the *Kāmika*. Southern Śaivism, which is known as *Śaiva-Siddhānta*, as well as the Kashmir Śaivism, which is called *Pratyabhijñā* system, regard these Āgamas as their authorities besides the Vedas. In fact, both the Vedas and Āgamas are held as *pramāṇas* having their origin in the Supreme Lord. Like Vedānta, Kashmir Śaivism leads the individual in the path of

self-realisation of experience that is no other than Lord Parama-Śiva. It, however, differs from Vedānta in that it holds the world as real, a manifestation of the Ultimate.

The work discusses, in its First Part, the controversial viewpoints with reference to the name of the system, the place of its origin, the time of its existence, its connection with the Śāṅkara school of Vedānta and its difference from the Vedānta system. Kashmir Śaivism which is a type of monism or nondualism, is known also by other names such as Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhijñā. It is called *Trika* because it believes in the principle of three in one, that is, *Pati-Paśu-Pāśa*, *Śiva-Śakti-Aṇu* or *Para-Apara-Parāpara* or because its chief authority is the triad consisting of the three Āgamas, viz., *Siddha*, *Namaka* and *Mālinī*, or still for another reason, viz., that it includes all the three systems, broadly speaking, *Bheda*, *Abheda* and *Bhedabhedā*. The term *Spanda* refers to the principle of movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the variety of the world. The term *Pratyabhijñā* means Recognition which is the only way by which the soul realises its identity with Śiva.

The final reality according to Kashmir Śaivism is Śiva or Śamhu. Śiva is the self of all beings, animate and inanimate, moving and nonmoving. The author of this book has brought out the fundamental principle of Kashmir Śaivism in his *Pratyabhijñā philosophy*. In his opinion, Śiva is immanent as well as transcendent. He is called *anuttara*, the reality beyond which there is nothing. He is pure consciousness (*caitanya*), absolute experience (*parasamvit*) and supreme Lord (*Parameśvara*). From him the world arises even as an appearance or reflection. This universe is thus Śiva's self-manifestation through the Śakti which is five-fold, viz., *Cit-śakti*, the power of intelligence or self-luminosity, *Ananda-śakti*, the power of independance which is bliss, *Icchā-śakti*, the power of will, *Jñāna-śakti*, the power of knowledge and *Kriyā-śakti*, the power of action. By these powers Śiva manifests himself by his own free will with himself as the substratum.

The individual soul, though identical with the Supreme Śiva, suffers in *Samsara*, because, it has forgotten its essential nature. The author has explained that the aim of *Pratyabhijñā* is to restore the soul to its original essence. The way to this restoration lies in the soul's recognition of its identity with the Ultimate Reality. It brings in the idea that the original glory of the soul is tainted owing to the association of *karmas* or *samsara* just as the bright light of the lamp

is diminished and blurred by the formation of the soot around it. When the soot is removed, the brightness of the light is revealed. So also, if a person recognises the essential nature of his soul, he shines forth in its original glory and attains *Mokṣa*. This idea closely corresponds to *Praītyasamutpāda* of Buddhism. *Mokṣa* according to *Pratyabhijñā* is a return to the original state of perfection and purity of consciousness. Abhinavagupta describes it thus : "When thus the imagination of quality has vanished, and he has surmounted the illusion of *Māyā* he is merged in *Brahman* as water in water, and milk in milk."

The *Pratyabhijñā*-Darśana flourished in the second half of 9th century and developed in two distinct stages, the earlier as represented by Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi* and the latter by Utpaladeva's *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-kārikā* and its exposition by Abhinavagupta.

The present exposition of *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy is a valuable contribution to Indian philosophical literature in particular and to world philosophy in general.

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*MADHYĀNTA-VIBHĀGA-BHĀSYA*, Deciphered and edited by Nathmal Tolia and Anantalal Thakur. K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1967. Pp. (vii), 8, 56. Rs. 4.

The *Madhyānta-vidhāga-kārikā* is an early Buddhist tract expounding some of the main tenets of Mahayanist philosophy, and is ascribed to Maitreyanātha, founder of Yogācāra Buddhism. In 112 Sanskrit *anuṣṭup* verses, divided into five chapters, the work deals with the concepts of *Śūnyatā*, *Āvaraṇa*, *Tattva*, *Pratipakṣabhāvanā* and *Anuttarya*, the proper study and realisation of which would lead one to emancipation. A good manuscript of this work with the *Bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu (4th cent.), written in Old-Maithili-Bengali script, is preserved in photostat in the Bihar Research Society, Patna. This forms the basis of the present edition of the work.

The editors have done a good job by dividing the text and the *Bhāṣya* into several sections, each with suitable topical headings according to the subject dealt with, with the help of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga-tīkā* of Sthiramati. The text, as edited here, is logically

arranged and punctuated so as to avoid any possible confusion and to facilitate easy study of the work.

It might not be out of place to refer, in this connection, to a disconcerting matter, as much because it relates to the present publication as, sometimes, to similar projects taken up under equally exalted auspices. Speaking about the history of the publication, the editors say in their Introduction : "The photostat copy was given to us by Dr. A. S. Alteker in 1956 for decipherment and editing. On account of the various pre-occupations, the progress was very slow and we could prepare the press copy only in 1962. The printing of the text was finished in 1963, and we were preparing to write an Introduction to the book. But to our disappointment, we discovered that the text was already published by Prof. G. M. Nagao from Tokyo." (p. i). Much comment is not needed on this statement. Suffice it to say that with a little more response, alertness and activity on the part of the editors, on the one hand, and the Institute on the other, the delay of over ten years could have been avoided. Indeed, it is not too ambitious to expect the publication of a "slim volume" of 50 pages within a few months of its assignment.

The title now given to the publication, which merely reads "*Madhyāntā-vibhāga-bhāṣya*" is simply innocuous and conveys much less than what it should. The title could be made full and informing to all concerned, whether it is the reader, the bibliographer or the librarian, by making it complete and accurate as "*Madhyānta-vibhāga-kārikā* of Maitreyanātha with the *Bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu."

Students of Buddhist philosophy would have also welcomed a more detailed editorial Introduction, being a study of the work with reference to : (1) the *Tikā* of Sthiramati (of which, besides Prof. Yamaguchi's edition, the incomplete edition with *Kārikā* and *Bhāṣya* by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya and G. Tucci, London-Calcutta, 1932, might be referred to); (2) other works of Maitreyanātha, and (3) the other texts on the subject.

K. V. SARMA

*LEŚYĀ-KOŚA (CYCLOPAEDIA OF LEŚYĀ)*, 1966. Pp. 39, 296.  
Rs. 10.

*KRIYĀ-KOŚA (CYCLOPAEDIA OF KRIYĀ)*, 1969. Pp. 60,  
364. Rs. 15.

Both compiled by Mohan Lal Banthia and Shrichand Choraria. Jain Darsana Samiti, 16-C, Dover Lane, Calcutta-29.

Speaking about the genesis of the two books reviewed here, the compilers take notice of the paucity of reliable reference books on Jain religion and culture, where information on individual subjects scattered over the vast range of Jain literature has been collected together. They also speak of the handicap faced by students of Jainology on this account. An intense desire to find a solution to this state of affairs has taken a concrete shape in the project of compiling a multi-volumed a *Jaina-viśaya-kośa-granthamāla* (*Cyclopaedias on Jain subjects*), of which the present two volumes on *Leśyā-kośa* and *Kriyā-kośa* are the first two numbers.

The compilers have commenced their work in a very methodical manner by reducing the entire Jainology into a hundred main classes, with further similar sub-divisions according to the decimal system. Each subject that they take up for the preparation of cyclopaedias are similarly divided for convenience.

The two volumes before us deal with *Leśyā* and *Kriyā*, both of which are cardinal concepts of Jainism. The former is an integral part of the *Karma* doctrine, which presupposes, among other things, that every activity of the soul has a corresponding effect on it, which is called *Leśyā*, the subtle effects being termed *Bhāva-leśyā* and the gross effects *Dravya-leśyā*. Similarly, the *Kriyā* (Action, in its broad sense) of every soul affects its *Karma* in various ways. Our two *Kośas* present, in a classified and arranged manner, the large amount of material on *Leśyā* and *Kriyā* spread in the entire Śvetāmbara canon and its commentarial literature. The quotations are duly referenced to their sources and, for the readers who are not well conversant with Prakrit and Sanskrit, a Hindi rendering or summary of each entry is given below it.

We may suggest that, in order to make the reference to these volumes easier, the classification numbers and their subjects might be given as the folio-headings of the pages instead of repeating *ad nauseam* the titles of the books at the top of every page; the page numbers may, then, be given at the bottom of the pages.

The *Kośas* that have been issued now and those that are to follow in due course are bound to inspire comparative studies and researches in Jain religion and philosophy. All credit should go to the compilers who have taken up this work which is extremely useful to the furtherance of Jainistic studies and are going about the work in a scholarly manner.

K. V. SARMA

*GANADHARAVĀDA*, Translation and explanation by Esther A. Solomon. Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1966. Pp. vi, 75, 310. Rs 12-50.

The *Ganadharavāda* is one of the important sections of Ācārya Jinabhadra's *Viśeṣavaśyakabhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Āvaśyakanirukti* of Bhadrabāhu, which, in its turn, is a commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra* of the Jain canon. In about 475 *gāthās* (nos. 1549-2024 in the *Bhāṣya*), divided into eleven sub-sections, this section gives an account of the dialectic discussions held by Lord Mahāvīra with eleven leaders of Brahmanical thinkers, Indrabhūti, Sudharman etc., who approached him, one by one, for such discussions and who were, ultimately won over to Mahāvīra's views and became his main disciples. This section is particularly significant for the questions raised and the answers given by the Jina to various cardinal tenets of Jainism like the soul, *Karman*, *Bhūtas*, Gods, Heaven and Hell, Good and Evil, *Mokṣa* etc. Though it is only a part of the *Viśeṣavaśyakabhāṣya*, the *Ganadharavāda*, is in fact, a full-fledged entity by itself. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Gujarat Vidya Sabha sought to issue it as an independent publication.

The volume contains an edition of the relevant Prakrit *gāthās* from the *Bhāṣya* (pp. 267-304), a readable English translation (pp. 1-65) and a translation, also, of the elaborate commentary on it by Maladhāri Hemacandra (pp. 67-223). The translator has added further elucidatory notes (pp. 225-65) on the basis of the commentary of Koṭyācārya and Jinabhadra's own auto-commentary on this Section. The volume contains also a 75-page Introduction, which is not only informative but also stimulating. Starting from the structure of the Jain scripture, the editor discusses the place which *Ganadharavāda* occupies therein and briefly explains the various points made out in the *Vāda* (pp. 35-73). An Index of subjects is appended to the book; this Index, however, is far from full or exhaustive.

Non-Jain English readers will be particularly thankful to Dr. Solomon and to the Gujarat Vidya Sabha for presenting before them, through the publication under review, some of basic tenets of Jain religion and philosophy.

K.V. SARMA

*KARMAPRAKRTI OF ABHAYACANDRA*, Ed. and Tr. by Gokul Chandra Jain. Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi-5, 1968. Pp. 16, 75. Rs. 2.

If the *Karma* doctrine which makes one accountable for all his actions, here and in the hereafter, is a common heritage of all Indian religions, it is Jainism that has elaborated it into a full-fledged system, the ramifications of which spread through several tiers. The rather general speculation of this doctrine in the early Jain canons and the logical divisions, sub-divisions and correlations in later Jain texts ushered in a type of compact works which merely enumerated and defined the numerous divisions and sub-divisions of the system. The *Karmaprakṛti* of Abhayacandra, reviewed here, is a work of this type.

The work is couched in 232 well-knit *sūtras* in Sanskrit, which are divisible into six sections entitled *Prakṛti-bandha*, *Sthiti-bandha*, *Anubhāga-bandha*, *Pradeśa-bandha*, *Bhāva-karma* and *Nokarma*. These *sūtras* which analyse the system by categorising the tenets and defining the technical terms are extremely handy for memorising the entire system with ease. The author of the work, Abhayacandra, (died 1279 A.D.), surnamed Siddhānta Cakravartin, belonged to the Kannada region of South India and besides composing works on Jainism, wrote a commentary called *Prakriyāsaṅgraha* on the Jain *Śākatayanavyākaraṇa* (Madras, 1893).

The present edition is based on seven palmleaf manuscripts, all in the Kannada script and preserved in the Jain Math at Moodbidiri in S. Canara disrict. Besides dividing the work into six main and several sub-divisions, the editor has supplied a topical heading to practically every *sūtra*, both of which are extremely helpful to students of the book. The Hindi rendering of said topical headings and the *sūtras* are also aimed to serve the same purpose. In a textbook of technical terms and definitions, an Index is a must. To meet this need, the editor has supplied a *Śabdānukrama*

(Word Index), which, however, is not exhaustive. The editor could also have supplied, with advantage, as an Appendix, a certain number of tables indicating the classifications, divisions and sub-divisions of the various Karmic categories defined in the work. Such tables would have enabled one to understand and appreciate the contents of the work with greater ease.

The publication is beautifully printed and produced and is also priced very moderately, the credit for which all goes to the editor, G. C. Jain and the Bharatiya Jnanapith.

K. V. SARMA

*AKALĀNKA'S CRITICISM OF DHARMAKĪRTI'S PHILOSOPHY*  
—A STUDY, By Nagin J. Shah. L. D. Institute of Indology,  
Ahmedabad-9, 1967. Pp. xviii, 316. Rs. 30.

Akalaṅka, the 8th century Jain logician of Sravanabelgola in Mysore, who is reputed to have defeated the Buddhists at the Pallava court of Kanchi and driven them to Ceylon, is well known to students of Indian philosophy, especially of the Jainistic persuasion. Akalaṅka was the author of several treatises and a debater of no mean order. The same might be said of Dharmakīrti, the renowned Buddhist logician of the 6th-7th century, who also hailed from South India, but studied at Nālanda and followed in the footsteps of the masters Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti and Akalaṅka, the one closely following the other, chronologically, might, be taken to represent the acme of scholastic speculations and dialectic acumen of philosophic thought of their times, with regard to Buddhism and Jainism, respectively. A matter of interest that connects the two is that in Akalaṅka we have a staunch critic of Dharmakīrti on several fundamental tenets. A comparative and contrastive study, between their views, of the points taken up for criticism, would tantamount to such a study between the Buddhist and Jain schools of philosophy as they stood then. This is exactly what Nagin J. Shah has attempted successfully in the book reviewed here, which formed his Ph. D. thesis as approved by the Gujarat University in 1965.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first of which depicts the background, being an account of the thought currents of the time of Dharmakīrti and Akalaṅka in respect of the problems discussed in the volume. In the Second Part, in three chapters, the

views of Dharmakīrti on certain metaphysical tenets like *Sat* (Reality), *Sāmānya* (Universals) and *Vijñānavāda* (Idealism) are discussed, followed by their refutation by Akalāṅka and the author's own comments thereon. In the Third Part, the main doctrines of epistemology like *Pramāṇa* (Valid knowledge), *Pratyakṣa* (Perception), *Anumāṇa* (Inference) and *Śabda* (Verbal testimony) are similarly dealt with. In presenting the two views, the author has not restricted himself to the work of Dharmakīrti and Akalāṅka, but takes into consideration also commentaries on the works of these two authors and other relevant external sources. The result is a penetrating comparative study of both the systems.

The author has supplied the volume with a classified Bibliography of his source-books, which, however, is deficient in the matter of bibliographical details with regard to many items. Three Indexes have also been added, to wit : (1) General subjects, (2) Works, Authors etc., and (3) Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pāli words. For reference purposes, it would have been advantageous to combine these three indexes into one.

Students of Indian philosophy are indebted to Dr. Shah for his masterly analytical study of two early Indian philosophers and it is to be hoped that he will follow up this work with other similar and equally stimulating studies.

K. V. SARMA

*ANUBHAVĀNANDA-LAHARĪ* by Keśavānanda Yati, Critically ed. by K. V. Sarma. Vishveshvarananda Instt., Hoshiarpur, 1967. Pp. xiii, 12. Rs. 4.

The book under review, in 54 verses, serves as a short introduction to practical Advaita philosophy and is couched in the form of an exposition by a *guru* to an inquisitive pupil. The work has been edited from its only manuscript available.

The author, Keśavānanda Yati is the author of several erudite works on Advaita Vedānta and the exposition of the teachings of Guru Nanak as can be gathered from his commentary on *Śāṅkarabhaṣya*, on the *Brahmāsūtras*, and the *Nānaka-gītā*, among others. The present work, in easy Sanskrit could introduce even a layman, having a working knowledge of Sanskrit into the Vedānta philosophy.

To the questions of the disciple on various topics, the *guru* replies in easy verses ending with a variety of refrains which serve to emphasize the particular point. The refrain added to certain verses delineating evil acts, words or thoughts is *mṛtyus tada te dhruvam*. Some of the verses delineating right acts, words and thoughts have the refrain *muktis tada te dhruvam*. Other characteristic refrains are : *tato'dvayam bhāvaya bhavya-bhāvanam*, *brahmādvaitam bhāvaya satyam vitatam bho!*, *Jīvanmuktah sa eva munibhir mānyo munīndro mahān*, *samau muktimantau parabrahmavantau*, and *parijñāte tattve jagati ravi-bhābham viharaṇam*. The refrains facilitate memorization in addition to making the verses easy to understand. Considering the influence of Guru Nānak on the author, it would seem that the work was composed with the idea of being sung in the religious assemblies called the *Sat-sāṅga*. About the literary merit of the work there is not much to comment upon. The Editor's Introduction to the publication is highly informative.

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*GURU NANAK : HIS PERSONALITY AND VISION.* By  
Gurbachan Singh Talib. Gurdas Kapur & Sons (P) Ltd.,  
Delhi, 1969. Pp. xv, 326. Rs. 25/-.

“Religion,” writes Professor Toynbee, “is an intrinsic faculty of human nature.” It is, to quote him further, “a search for the ultimate spiritual principle in the universe, and the purpose of this search is not just the intellectual one of learning the ultimate truth; beyond that, it is the spiritual purpose of learning the truth in order to try to put oneself into harmony with it.” (*Experiences*, pp. 145-6). In order to alleviate the oppressive mystery and inexorability of the universe, which overwhelms him on all sides, man searches for streaks of light and patterns of harmony in it, with the eye of faith, for the instrument of reason has a limited potency, and range so that he may feel at home by reconciling himself to it. But, being the product of faith, this endeavour tends to deviate from reason and lapse into belief and, in lesser people, ritual and superstition. For this reason, it is difficult, even risky, to write or to review a writing on a particular religion and particularly its founder. Our author realises this fact when he states that “the presentation of the personality and teaching of a religious teacher is a delicate task in present-day India, as over every small issue of opinion or emphasis away from the beaten track

mental resistance may be encountered" (Preface, p. ix). Yet, he has undertaken the task and has accomplished it in an admirable manner; as for the reviewer's job, it is for the readers to judge.

In the first part of this work, entitled 'The holy life', the author has surveyed the life of Guru Nanak on the basis of whatever little material we have on it. It is well known that in the 15th-16th centuries the Khatris were coming up as an enlightened middle class devoted to commerce and government service and steeped in the cultural attainments of the times. Synthesising the best in Hindu and Muslim traditions, they were an element of stability, progress and peace in that turbulent period. Guru Nanak crystallised and embodied the outlook and attitude of this class in his person and message, which accounts for the polish, system and order in his views in contradistinction to those of the numerous rugged and rustic teachers and preachers of that age. However, myths and miracles, sprouting from the credulity of believers, shrouded his personality and took him to the fictitious summits of Mount Sumeru, which our author has vainly tried to identify with Tibet (p. 49). It is really difficult, at least for the historian, to subscribe to everything that these myths and traditions want us to believe. For example, though it is a fact that Guru Nanak was a widely travelled man, as many other religious teachers of his age were, it remains a moot point whether his visit to the Middle East is to be accepted just as tradition presents it, particularly on the basis of such evidence as the Baghdad Inscription, the true character of which has been exposed after a long discussion by W. H. MacLeod in his *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

At some places, the believer in Talib overpowers the historian in him. For instance, at page 112, he admits that "in the system of the Guru's spiritual philosophy there is no place or sanction for the human incarnation of the divine"; yet he goes on to add: "He, nevertheless, is an authentic *avatār*, the last which came to India, to instruct it in that spirituality which is India's own greatest gift to mankind." On this point I need only say with Professor Toynbee that "I do not believe that this, or any, particular prophet can have been the last of the prophets." (*Experiences*, p. 136).

In part II, 'The Path', Mr. Talib presents, lucidly, the leading ideas and doctrines of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak's views are clear and concise. He believes in one God Who transcends all limitations of verbal expression or linguistic connotation but is immanent in the

limitless multiplicity of the universe and the infinite variety of its objects. According to him the method and content of divine expression are conveyed through the terms *Shabad*, *Nam*, *Guru*, *Hukam*, *Sach* and *Nadar*. *Shabad*, and its synonym *Nam*, is God as revelation and, as such, the object of meditation and contemplation ; *Guru* is the mystical movement of God in the depth of the soul or His light shed abroad in its inmost recesses of his voice whereby truth is communicated in its essential form ; *Hukam* is divine order, pattern or harmony which implies that being is not accidental or spasmodic or desultory or arbitrary but embodies balance, plan, law, symmetry and system ; *Sach* is God and His varied manifestations in creation ; *Nadar* is divine grace amounting to the loss of egoism which is the cause of that self-centred view of things that goes by the name of *māyā*. Thus, in Nanak's view, the scheme of being is an ordered whole in which the parts are closely interlinked and have their existence only in relation to it. But, often, the parts appear to be self-existent or independent and equivalent to the whole through a self-centred *weltanschauung* and this perverse view or *māyā* has got to be removed ; and, religion is the means to do that.

Theoretically, divinity may be coeval with existence and even transcending it, but considered from the devotee's point of view, it partakes of some anthropomorphism as a matter of necessity. Indian religions are frankly realistic on this point when they conceive of the supreme and absolute divine reality in the form of specific persons or forms for purposes of comprehension and concentration as also devotion. Guru Nanak's followers followed suit to the adherents of these religious when they went to the extent of deifying the Guru himself and virtually identified him with the Supreme Reality. So, the remark of Talib that "in the passion of faith as expressed by Guru Nanak, it is not a deity, Krishna or any other, who is adopted as the object of love, but the Absolute, the *Brahm*, imagined as a kind of supreme mystical personality, invested with attributes and responsive to human love and human spiritual and ethical ideals" (p. 67) has to be taken *cum grano salis*. Here, 'absolute', '*Brahm*', 'personality', 'attributes' seem to harbour some contradiction ; in fact, when a person conceives of the impersonal as an object of devotion he is bound to transform it into something approaching his own self, howsoever distorted this version may be. On this point, the religion of Guru Nanak is no exception as Talib tries to argue.

Shri Talib considers Guru Nanak's vision 'comprehensive' and that of other teachers of the medieval period 'limited' (p. 269). Guru Nanak's vision was surely 'comprehensive' but that of other teachers cannot abruptly be termed 'limited'. It is also too sweeping to remark that they 'had touched the fringe only of the existing malaise in religion and life'. Kabir, Chaitanya, Dadu, Ramdas and others, each in his own way, tried to tackle the problems of their times in a "comprehensive" manner. They too decried the life of inactivity and renunciation or escapism and denigrated vain distinctions in society and emphasized the unity and totality of spiritual reality. As a matter of fact, the crusade against caste had started with the Sahajayanist Sarahapada in the 8th-9th century A. D. After the Muslim conquest of North India, in the 13th century, it gained momentum in large parts of the country. Side by side, an inwardness and intensity of feeling, born of the excruciating experience of the turmoil of that time, infused it with a spiritual fervour and moral propulsion. Hence, in the 15th-16th centuries, a socio-religious convulsion wrenched the spirit of the people and moved it along new paths, of which Guru Nanak's was a prominent one, though not the only one.

There is evidence that though the early converts of Guru Nanak were mostly Khatri, in course of time, his movement seeped into the lower classes, the artisans and the peasants, and became a comprehensive social synthesis. A Persian manuscript, *Tazkira-i-Hassu-Pir* by Surat Singh, preserved in the library of the Muslim University, Aligarh, shows how a Pir of oilmen, having the status of a local godling, was identified as an incarnation of Guru Nanak, showing that the artisans like oilmen (telis) gravitated towards Nanakism. As for the peasants, the *debistan-i-Mazahib*, ascribed to the Mobed Zulfiqar Ardistanti, clearly states that they formed its backbone (*The Punjab : Past and Present*, Guru Nanak's Birth Quincentenary Volume, 1969, p. 52). In this way, Guru Nanak proved to be the progenitor of a vast social movement which played a leading part in the later medieval history of India. This aspect of this subject deserves a more thorough analysis than what has been attempted so far.

Undoubtedly Talib has written a good book on Guru Nanak, the main features of which are chiselled and polished in style, and neat and chaste in diction. The constructive approach to the subject and a

creative interpretation of it are quite palatable to the modern reader and stimulating for his thought.

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*SWAMI DAYANAND.* By B. K. Singh. National Book Trust, India, New Delhi, 1970. Pp. ix, 143. Rs. 2.50.

The 19th century had been, for India, an era of all-round revivalism and regeneration in several spheres of life, to wit, political, industrial, social, religious and cultural. Different factors might have contributed to this resurgence, but the fact remains that the age threw up several personalities of the highest stature, endowed with broad vision and blazing zeal. Among such leaders who strove to resuscitate the community from the social and religious disabilities to which it had been subjected to, on account of historic reasons, Swami Dayanand is, perhaps, the foremost. The efforts of Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1825-83) to transform the caste-ridden Hindu society into a well-knit, homogenous, forward looking nation was more effective and lasting than other reformers of his age. The story of Dayanand's life and mission, as retold by Prof. B.K. Singh in the book under review, is a welcome addition to the available literature on the saint.

In nine chapters, the author highlights the grand movement of the Arya Samaj founded by Dayanand, at Bombay in 1875, which turned the rising tide of Christian proselytisation during those days and effected a lasting change in social and religious outlook of the Hindu. In tracing the activities of Dayanand, the author has also shown how the Arya Samaj continues to be a living force, especially in the North and North-west of India.

Whereas the general aspects of the life and work of Dayanand are of common knowledge, there are certain national strands in his activities, which are not so well known, to which Prof. Singh draws pointed attention. Among these might be mentioned : (1) his views against the law prohibiting the preparation of salt by the public (p. 128), (2) his advocacy of Swadeshi (p. 128), (3) compulsory education for every Indian (p. 111), (4) national integration by means of having a common religion, common language and common objective (p. 76), and (5) adoption of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India and

the acceptance of the Devanāgari script for all Indian language (p. 112-13).

The National Book Trust has intended the present *Series* to provide in simple language "a living account of the country through the lives of eminent people whose activities form the basis of history." This purpose, the present book eminently serves. It could, however, serve an extended purpose by the addition, in it, of a select *Bibliography* of its source-books and other books on the subject for further reading. This suggestion might be adopted as a matter of policy by the Book Trust itself with regards to all the books published in the *Series*. Our Book stands in need also of the unification of the transliterated spelling of the numerous Sanskritic words that occur in it. A few words also require to be corrected.

The biography of Swami Dayanand has deservedly formed the subject of a volume in the *National Biography Series* of the National Book Trust, India, and Prof. B. K. Singh has done a creditable job in presenting before the public a very readable account of the life of one of the greatest sons of India.

K.V. SARMA

*RAJASTHAN THROUGH THE AGES*, Vol. I (From the earliest times to 1316 A.D.), Ed. by Dasharatha Sharma. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, 1966. Pp. 44, 914, xi ; 4 maps. Price not mentioned.

Though the histories of some of the important princely states of Rajasthan, written on the basis of folk-lore and the then-available data, were in existence in the pre-partition days, yet a connected, well-documented and authentic history of the whole region remained a great desideratum for a long time even after independence and subsequent merger of those principalities in the present Rajasthan State. The need for such a work was realised and the government of Rajasthan was persuaded by the Director of Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, to set up an Editorial Board (consisting of eight members with Muni Shri Jinavijaya Ji as Chairman) and an Advisory Board (of sixteen members headed by Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta) to accomplish the task. The present work is the outcome of the deliberations of the above-mentioned boards and particularly the

incessant and unflinching enthusiasm of Shri N. R. Khadgawat, Director of Rajasthan State Archives, and Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, the well-known authority on the history of Rajasthan, who have worked as the Managing Editor and General Editor, respectively, in the production of this book.

The volume consists of three parts covering, respectively, the three periods, (1) from the earliest times to 700 A.D., (2) from 701 to 1200 A.D., and (3) from 1201 to 1316 A.D. Each part is accompanied by a detailed bibliography and the second and third parts contain long genealogical tables also. We learn that Part I was originally drafted by Dr. S. P. Srivastava with Shri L. L. Joshi giving the final shape to the section on the geography of Rajasthan and Parts II and III were written by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma who later recast the whole material into one continuous narrative presenting before the general reader a work 'popular in style and presentation', relegating all controversial matters to the footnotes and appendices.

Part I (pp. 1-94) consists of five chapters, three appendices and an annexure to appendix A. The five chapters give, respectively, an Account of the geographical background, Sources of Rajasthan history, Pre-historic and Proto-historic Rajasthan, Historic Rajasthan (500 B.C.-340 A.D.) and Rajasthan 300-700 A.D. The appendices deal with 'Some old geographic and political divisions of Rajasthan', and palaeolithic and mesolithic (or microlithic) sites of the State. The annexure discusses the provenance of the Bhādānakas and identifies them with the people of Bayana, the famous find-spot of the largest hoard of Gupta gold coins. The history of Rajasthan from the earliest times to 700 A.D. has actually been treated in chapters III-V, (from p. 33 to p. 72). How far has the writer been successful in acquainting us just in 40 pages of the cultural evolution, rise and fall of kings and kingdoms and the way of life of the people during this long period in a region which is considered as the 'archaeologists' paradise', which has yielded, amongst other things, a large number of palaeoliths and microliths at various sites and the earliest relics of the proto-historic period and which contains one of the biggest Harappan sites in India, a sufficiently large number of chalcolthic and early historic sites and various other important remains, one can easily guess. Moreover, prehistory and proto-history have been jumbled in one chapter and the palaeolithic and microlithic sites have been given in the appendices. But what about the large number of proto-historic and early historic sites? Again, the account has not been brought upto date and, strangely enough, a volume printed in 1966 and

released still later does not record the Khurdi copper hoard implements, the spectacular discoveries made during the excavations at Kalibangan, the discovery of ochre ware at Noh etc. Even if part of the book had been printed earlier, the latest discoveries could have been given in the form of an appendix at the end.

On the testimony of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we can place the Bhūlingas somewhere in the upper reaches of the Sutlej or the Beas, but in the present volume they have been located to the north-west of the Aravallis (p. 51).

The bibliography to Part I is quite exhaustive and runs into 22 pages. It, however, does not include V. N. Misra's Thesis *The Stone Age Cultures of Rajputana*, (Poona, 1961) and his long article 'Palaeolithic culture of Western Rajputana', *Bull. Dec. Col. Res. Inst.*, Poona, Vol. XXI, pp. 86-156. Some of the other important items which deserve to be included in the bibliography are: R. C. Agrawala, 'A terracotta plaque of Mahishamardini from Nagar, Rajasthan', *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2 (1955-56), pp. 72-74; A. Ghosh, 'The Rajputana desert—its archaeological aspect', *Bull. Nat. Inst. of Sciences of India*, No. 1 (1952) 37-42; *Proc. and Trans. AIOC*, 17th session, Ahmedabad (1953); *East and West*, April 1953, pp. 31-4; V. N. Misra and M. S. Mate (Eds.), *Indian Prehistory* : 1964, (Poona, 1965); Agar Chand Nahata and Bhanwar Lal Nahata, *Jaina Lekha Sangraha* (Hindi), Calcutta, Vira S. 2482; H. D. Sankalia, 'Beginnings of civilization in Rajasthan', *M. B. College Magazine Supplement*, Udaipur, 1962; *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 1, 1962, pp. 294-304; and *Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1962.

Part II (pp. 95-611) forms the main body of the book and deals with the history of Rajasthan from 701 to 1200 A. D. It is divided into 15 chapters and carries 5 appendices, besides the introduction, genealogical tables and select bibliography. A detailed and scholarly account of the origin, rise and fall of the Pratihāra and other Rajput families of Rajasthan, the Ghaznavide raids and the struggle for supremacy, has been knit very skilfully in the form of an unbroken narrative. It is not "merely a chronological order" but takes into its purview "the common people of the region, their life and the changing panorama of their socio-economic conditions." The significance of the word *Gurjara* as a designation of the Imperial Pratihāras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat has been brought out very nicely in the appendix to the introduction. The problem of the origin

of the Pratihāras has been discussed at length in appendix I to chapter XII while another appendix to the same chapter gives interesting details about a marriage ceremony on the evidence of *Sāmarātchchakahā*. Though most of the matter has been recast from the writings of various scholars as published in different books and research Journals (of which Dr. Dasharatha Sharma's own contributions are particularly mentionable) yet there are quite a few innovations and interesting details. Analysis and interpretation of the available data shows much ingenuity on the part of the author. This part may be said to be the most authentic and well-documented portion of the book.

Part III (pp. 613-768) which deals with the second phase of Rajput-Muslim relations from 1200 to 1316 A.D. and acquaints us with the reign of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor and Jalor, the Guhilas of Mewar, Dungarpur-Banswara and Khed, and other states of Rajasthan, in six chapters and one appendix, shares the characteristics of the preceding part and makes an interesting study.

The bibliographies of the three parts taken together cover as many as  $(22+45+10=)$  77 pages. The Index at the end is quite exhaustive and enhances the value of the publication. It runs into 146 pages (pp. 769-914), being nearly one-sixth of the book. The number of pages, however, could have been considerably reduced by the use of smaller type and putting the entries in two columns. At the end, following the Index, is an eleven-page Errata which itself is not bereft of errors. On an average, there is hardly any page in the book which does not have some printing, diacritical or typological lapses. Examples of improper spacing and wrong use of punctuation marks can also be noticed. The four maps in this voluminous book lack clarity and distinctness and hardly attain the expected standards. There are some anomalies in the list of abbreviations also. The most pricking, however, is the absence of illustrations of important archaeological remains, monuments and art-objects of Rajasthan, which give a peep into the various aspects of the social life of the people and could also have broken the monotony of the long narrative.

On the whole, however, the book provides fascinating reading and has the honour of being the first connected, co-ordinated, condensed, comprehensive, well-documented and authentic history of Rajasthan. Both the editor and the publisher deserve our congratulations for this welcome addition to the field of provincial histories.

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*VINAYA (Alwar Issue)*, Chief Editor, Jaya Sinha Niraj. Rajarshi College, Alwar, January 1969. Pp. 244, 28 illustrations, 1 map. Rs. 15.

The publication under review is a special issue of the magazine of the Rajarshi College, Alwar. It has been divided into three parts dealing with (1) History, (2) Literature, Art and Culture, and (3) Political and Economic Conditions of the Alwar district (formerly a princely State) of Rajasthan.

The historical account begins with a map and a geographical description of the district, followed by the epic and purānic traditions of Kuvalayāśva and Matsya, accounting for the ancient designation of the region as Matsyadeśa. Though the geographical account is vivid and lucid, the outline map is far from being satisfactory as it does not indicate the different physical features and the surrounding regions; nor has it got any inset map of Rajasthan to give the exact idea of the location of the district in the province. Moreover, ancient and modern places have not been differentiated, say, by different symbols. Archaeological evidence has not at all been utilized to trace out the prehistory and early history of the region. Medieval history has, however, been given in detail. Alexander Cunningham's views have been quoted in the text but he has not been included in the Bibliography given as an Appendix. A glaring mistake in this part is the identification of Trigartta with Tijārā in Alwar district (p. 24). The Trigarttas were the people living in the region watered by the three rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej in the Panjab and were the same as the Jālandharas (*Jālandharās trigarttās syuh, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV. 24). The *Mahābhārata* gives the name of the Trigartta king Suśarman and not Suśarmajīta as given here.

Literary activities of the district have been described in a historical perspective and a good account of the poets of the *Bhakti* and *Rīti* schools has been given. Modern litterateurs, many of them from the Rajarshi College itself, have also been introduced. The section on Folk Literature is appreciable, but one wishes it to have been more comprehensive. The development of the language and dialects spoken in the district has been traced out nicely from the medieval to modern period, giving their characteristic features.

The arts of the district have been dealt with quite at length and the peculiarities of the Alwar School have been

brought out very nicely. The illustrated sculptures, paintings and movements bring home to the reader the artistic achievements of the people of this region. More illustrations, however, would have further enhanced utility of publication.

The culture of the district has not been seen in the perspective of the Rajasthani culture and the Indian civilization.

The Third Part dealing with the political and economic conditions of the district lacks historical perspective, but the account of the prevailing conditions of the present century and, particularly, of the post-partition times is quite perspicuous, often supplemented by statistical data. Industries and handicrafts have, however, been neglected. The inclusion of social and religious conditions too in this part would have made it more comprehensive and useful.

Quite a few printing mistakes have crept in, e.g., *āraha* (p. 10), *kaune* (p. 11), *śāśibadanī* (p. 22), *saṃṛddhaśālī* (p. 30), *Kanīmhamā* (p. 35), *arajaṅge* (p. 36), *proḍhā* (p. 81), etc. Some names have also been given wrongly, e.g., *Dropadī* (p. 9), *Brahmanata* (p. 9), etc. There are instances of improper spacing (p. 10) and inadvertent punctuation marks (pp. 12, 18, etc.) also. The language used has ubiquitous literary touch and though often pleasing does not quite suit, at places, the topic dealt with. Sometimes the details are insipid and onerous (pp. 125-49). The Bibliography at the end could have been more exhaustive.

On the whole, however, this special issue is quite interesting and useful and we hope that it will serve as a model for others to follow suit.

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*THE SIKHS AND THEIR LITERATURE* (A guide to Tracts, Books and Periodicals, 1849-1919), By N. Gerald Barrier. Manohar Book Service, 2, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6, 1970. Pp. xiv, 153. Rs. 28.

The seven decades, from 1849, when the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore collapsed and the fortunes of the Sikhs reached their lowest ebb, to 1919, by which time they had staged an incredible come-

back and effected a political mobilization which no one could ignore, is one of the most significant periods in Sikh history. The ideological movements, social reformation, intercommunal ferment, educational advances and political ups and downs, which this period witnessed, threw up a profusion of Sikh writings of divers description. To be sure, the bulk of this literature was, in terms of Ruskin's classification, only 'books of the hour' written to meet the needs of the times and once their intended purpose had been served, very few cared for these, with the result that few copies of these largely produced tracts have been preserved. Their significance to contemporary social and historical research, is, however, immense. The paucity of readily accessible source-material has, naturally affected the prosecution of definitive research on this period of Sikh history. Professor Barrier's bibliography of articles, books and, tracts produced during this period, as listed in the volume reviewed here, removes this lacuna and, in the words of Khushwant Singh, who has contributed a Foreword to the volume, forms "a most valuable catalogue of source-material for those who wish to fill the blank pages of Sikh history" (p. x).

The substantial documentary material, which is presented in the volume under 1240 entries, was painstakingly collected by the author during 1968-69, mainly from the British Museum and India Office Library, London ; the National Archives of India, New Delhi ; and certain public and private institutions in Panjab, like the Chief Khalsa Diwan and Khalsa College, Amritsar, the Panjab University, Patiala, and Bhai Takht Singh Library, Ferozepur. The entries are all adequately annotated and cross-referenced and arranged under : (1) Author-List of Sikh publications, (2) Anonymous Sikh publications, (3) Sikh institutional publications and (4) Sikh periodicals. The author has prefixed the volume with a 41-page Introduction entitled 'The Sikh resurgence : The period and its literature', wherein he has traced the slow, but sure development, during this period of the Sikh identity in different spheres, like religious, social, educational and political. Three informative Appendixes have been added at the end, being (1) a description of the nature and the contents of 'Depositories of Sikh printed documents', (2) 'A note on Sikh proscribed material' and (3) A 'Select bibliography on Sikh history and literature, 1849-1919'. There are also two Indexes, (Subject-Title and General) which facilitate reference to the contents of the volume. The book should, indeed, prove to be a harbinger of several lines of organized research in .

the social, religious and political history of the Sikhs, during the formative period of their resurgence covered by the volume.

K. V. SARMA

*INDEX TO THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (1925-63),*  
By Sadhu Ram. Pub., Vijay Mohan, 986, Shivaji Street,  
Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5, 1970. Rs. 20.

Learned articles of research by eminent professors and scholars are published in the leading research journals all over the world. Articles on the same subject or its allied topics by several authors, therefore, lie scattered in various journals or in different issues of the same Journal. In order to co-ordinate research and accelerate its progress, it is essential that indices containing subject-wise classification of all important research journals should be available for the ready reference of research scholars and teachers.

*The Indian Historical Quarterly* is one of the leading research journals of India, which was being published from Calcutta since 1925. Unfortunately, its publication seems to have stopped from 1963. Prof. Sadhu Ram has done yeoman's service in compiling and bringing out an *Index* of the articles in the 39 volumes of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, published thus far. It is an indispensable publication to all scholars, colleges, libraries and institutions. The paper, printing and get-up of the publication are good.

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*NANA ON LION: A STUDY IN KUSHANA NUMISMATIC ART,*  
By B. N. Mukherjee. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969.  
Pp. xv., 159; pl. XV. Rs. 35.

The work under review is an erudite monograph from the pen of Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, on a coin-device of the Kushana-period, portraying the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nanā on Lion. The monograph is divided into five chapters, each followed by notes, (pp. 1-59), six appendices (pp. 61-106), a catalogue of the objects illustrated (pp. 107-23), list of abbreviations and select

bibliography (pp. 125-42), an index (pp. 143-59) and fifteen plates illustrating 56 figures.

Chapter I introduces the subject by stressing the importance of the study of art and iconography of the Kushana period with particular reference to *Nanā* on Lion and 'the influence of her concepts on Indian iconic representations'. Chapter II entitled 'Devices' studies the origin and development of the iconic type in question, giving a learned exposition of the currents and cross-currents in thought of the people of India, *Gandhāra*, *Swat*, *Iran*, *Central Asia*, *Greece* and *Sumer*, resulting in the intermingling of forms, functions and characteristic features of *Ambā* (*Umā*), *Anāhitā*, *Ishtar*, *Demeter*, *Artemis*, *Tyche*, *Nanā*, etc. in these regions. In Chapter III, entitled 'Style and Technique', the stylistic affinities of the representation of *Nanā* to some products of the *Gandhāra* school have been traced out and discussed very meticulously and the technique of manufacturing coins in the Kushana period reconstructed with imagination and originality. Chapter IV, captioned as 'Rulers, Artists and Environment', gives an idea as to how the migrations, conquests, colonisation, trade and commerce by the Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians, during the first three centuries before Christ, probably resulted in the interchange of ideas pertaining to different deities by people having racial and spatial differences. The unification of different heterogenous ethnic elements living at great distances from one another under the political hegemony of the Kushanas seems to have further promoted this fusion and resulted in the syncretistic movement in the field of art and iconology. Chapter V, the 'Epilogue', gives a summary of the results of enquiries made in the preceding chapters and brings home to the readers as to how *Nanā* made a distinct contribution to the development of the iconographic concept of the *Devī* — *Durgā* and *Mahiśasuramardini* — in India. It was the Kushana period which "brought the world to India and presented India to the outside world."

In Appendix I, entitled 'The prototype of an obverse device of Kushana coinage', the author draws attention to the coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes II (c. 38-51 A. D.), the reverse of which probably served as the prototype of an obverse device—'The king standing to his right and offering something on an altar' — of the Kushanas. Appendix II, 'On the deity of *Pushkalāvatī*', is marked by the careful and convincing decipherment of the well-known piece

(Figure number 17 of the monograph) in the British Museum. Appendix III entitled 'The interest of the Kushana Empire in Indo-Roman trade—An illustration', is an interesting study of the conquest of Shen-tu or the lower Indus country by Vima Kadphises "motivated largely by the prospects of gain offered by its thriving Indo-Roman commerce" that "served as the key-stone for the economic structure of the Kushana empire". 'The deity on a silver bowl in the Oxus Treasure' has well been recognised as Nanā-Anāhita-Ishtar in Appendix IV and 'An intaglio seal from Peshawar' has been interpreted very beautifully in Appendix V. The interpretation 'The Hermaphrodite figure on a silver plate', in Appendix VI, is, however, based on probabilities and may not be easily acceptable to all.

The 'Catalogue of the objects illustrated' is very useful. The 'Select Bibliography' which contains 195 entries is chosen with care and discrimination and is quite exhaustive. The index is also comprehensive and valuable. The reproductions are of a high quality. There are, however, a few printing and typological mistakes: improper spacing (p. 44, fn. 68, line 11), wrongly put full stop (p. 92, fn 25, lines 1-2), improper use of the capital letters (p. 42, fn. 41, line 3 ; p. 116, figure 30, line 5), grammatical mistakes on p. 110 (...the legend *Nanāia* are inscribed) and p. 113 (she wears...head dresses), missing reference (on p. 117, figure 35, lines 1-2), misprints on p. 19, line 13 (form) and p. 59, fn. 10 line 4 ('Smritt'), wrong spellings on p. 106, fn. 28, lines 11-12 ('effiminate'), p. 29, fn. 120, lines 1-2 and p. 129, line 12 ('Artebus Asic'), and p. 142, line 20 (Santavalekar), etc. However, in spite of these lapses, the printing is carefully executed and the book is strongly and neatly bound. The price of Rs. 35 for a book of 159 pages seems to be a little too high for the savants and students of moderate means in India.

Brief yet comprehensive, the book is the product of deep scholarship and a clear and critical analysis and interpretation of the available data. The author deserves our warm praise for this sumptuous and splendid study which is a valuable contribution to the studies in Indian iconography and numismatic art. We hope that it will serve as a model for similar studies and researches.

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*COLOUR DECORATION IN MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE*, By R. Nath. D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. Private Ltd., Bombay-1, 1970. Pp. xvi, 82; Pls. A-D (colour), xlvi (monochrome). Rs. 47.

The work under review is a part of the author's doctoral thesis entitled *Some important aspects of Mughal architecture*, approved for the degree of Ph. D. by the Agra University in 1969. It deals with the colour decoration as seen in the architectural masterpieces of the Great Mughals, particularly from Akbar to Shah Jahan (A. D. 1556-1658).

The Introduction, which forms chapter one, refers to man's aesthetic sense, so natural in him, as the root-cause of the creation of things of beauty. It was this sense which led the ancient Hindus to ornament their temples with sculptures, carvings and paintings and the Mughals, well known for their love for colour and decoration, to various schemes of embellishment according to the availability of the raw-materials and Muslim religious dicta.

In chapter two, entitled 'Glazed-tile decoration', the history of glazed-tiles has been traced in all its vicissitudes, from the earliest known examples in Egypt and Mesopotamia in the beginning of the fifth millennium B. C. to the Mughal period in India through their use from about the middle of the first millennium B. C. onwards in Persia. Glazing is stated to have arrived in India with the Kushanas in the first century A.D. and Hiuen Thsang is said to have seen roofs with glazed-tiles in brilliant colours while passing through the upper country during his travels in India. Glazed-tiles with a marked Hindu character have been found from the ruins of Gaur and Pandua in Bengal and they are certainly pre-Muhammedan. The lacunae, however, stand distinct and it is interesting to note that the art of glazed-tiling, in spite of its long tradition, was re-introduced in India by the Muhammedans. The Muslim conquest of Northern India at the end of the twelfth century and the subsequent rule of the Turks who were in a constant touch with Persia and were directly influenced by her cultural and artistic traditions and offered prosperous patronage to the fugitive artists of Central Asia where political conditions were fast deteriorating, were responsible for the adoption, use and prevalence of glazed-tile decoration which reached the acme of its magnificence during the Mughal period. We get a good account of the art and specimens of glazed-tile embellishments,

with all its excellences and new features, in the Mughal architecture towards the close of the chapter.

Chapter three gives us a fair idea of the mosaics, inlay and glass-mosaic decorations from their earliest use in ancient Greece (where it came probably from ancient Mesopotamia) from about the fifth century B. C., and then by the Romans from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. The Byzantines, who drew inspiration from Greek, Roman and other artistic traditions, started in the early fourth century A. D. the use of coloured glass for their mosaics which became an inseparable aspect of Byzantine architecture and spread to Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, Iraq and parts of Persia and Northern Africa. The glass-mosaics gave place to mosaic in tiles during the Muslim period in India and that ultimately led to the mosaic in stone of various hues and colours. It is interesting to learn that inlay work in stone had been adopted in India in Chaumukhi Jain Temple at Ranpur in the Jodhpur State during the reign of Maharana Kumbha (A. D. 1433-68) and this disproves the theory of the introduction of this art in India by foreigners during the reign of Shah Jahan. The Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, the Tomb of Itmad-ud Daulah at Agra and the Diwan-i-Khas, Rang Mahal and Shah Burj in the Red Fort of Delhi are some of the superb examples of the Mughal inlay embellishments and the Shish Mahals of Lahore, Delhi and Agra forts give sumptuous colour effects of the glass-mosaic work.

Chapter Four, which deals with 'Stucco and architectural painting' presents a survey of stucco and wall paintings in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, Persia and India. It was during the Mughal regime that the long tradition of stucco and wall painting in India achieved newer dimensions with a touch of the Persian artisans and artists. The chapter closes with a description of the Mughal masterpieces of these arts.

The ten-page Glossary with 216 entries is very useful. One, however, wishes the number of illustrations to explain difficult terms (only 15 in the present book) to be more. It seems to be somewhat paradoxical that a fine volume on colour decorations like this and published by the reputed art-publishers like Taraporewala, has got only four colour illustrations. Of the 67 monochrome illustrations in 42 plates, some more could have been included in the first category. The reproductions, however, are quite good.

The Bibliography appended to the volume is comprehensive, but it leaves out certain references, e.g., *Glimpses of Mughal architecture* by S. K. Saraswati, *Art Manufacturers of India* by T. N. Mukherji, *Journal of Indian Art (and Industry)*, etc. The transcription of Sanskrit words needs to be corrected and made uniform using proper diacritical marks. Some such words are : *Sutradhar*, *chitra-lepya-krit*, *Meghdoot*, *Bharat*, *pāncika*, *vigyan*, *Abhigyan-Shakuntala*, *Kumar-Sambhava* etc. (Pp. 47-50).

The four-page index at the end, is extremely useful. The printing is neat and the book beautifully got-up.

On the whole, the volume is quite readable and a very welcome contribution to the scanty literature on decorative arts of India.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS, NEW DELHI, 1964, Vol. III, Pt. I, Ed. by R.N. Dandekar. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4, 1969. Pp. (8), 524. Rs. 60. (For members of the Congress Rs. 30).

The 26th International Congress of Orientalists held at New Delhi, from 4 to 10 January, 1964, was unique in the annals of the Congress, being the first Session to be held in the 'Orient' during the course of its nearly hundred years' history. (The first Session was held in Paris in 1873). Attended by 1157 delegates from over fifty countries all over the world, it was one of the biggest international meets of Orientalists held in this part of Asia. Another interesting feature about this Session was that among the ten Sections into which the Congress was divided, the Section on Indology was the strongest, and had to be sub-divided into five Sub-sections. The Congress was easily an eminent success in all respects. The proceedings and transactions of the Congress are being issued in four volumes. Volume one, covering the organisational matters, accounts of the inaugural, plenary and concluding sessions and two symposiums, on the 'Role of Oriental studies in humanities' and 'Changes in Muslim personal law', was issued in 1966 and Volume Two, covering the papers pertaining to (I) Egyptology, (II) Babylonian and Hebraic studies, (III) Hittite and Caucasian studies, (IV) Altaic studies and Turcology and (V) Iranian studies, was issued in 1969.

Volume Three, in two parts, is to cover (VI) Indology and Volume Four, the remaining sections, being (VII) S.E. Asian studies, (VIII) E. Asian studies, (IX) Islamic studies and (X) African studies.

Early in 1968, when the Organising Committee of the Congress was formally dissolved, the editing of Vols. III and IV was entrusted to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The double sized, bulky tome before us forms the First Part of Vol. III and covers the sub-sections of Vedic Studies, Classical Sanskrit and Religion and Philosophy. The second part is to cover papers pertaining to History and culture, and Modern Indian languages and linguistics.

The present volume covers 230 papers, in all, of which 73 are printed in full and for the rest, either their summaries are given or titles mentioned. A few of the more important papers may be noticed here. In an interesting paper on 'The *Brahmaveda* and the *Brahmasūtra*' (pp. 28-32), Durgamohan Bhattacharyya informs that *Brahmasūtra* 2. 3. 43 contains in it two *pādas* of the *Atharvaveda Paippadāda* mantra (8. 9. 10) on *Brahman* and that Śaṅkara supplies the other two *pādas* in his *Bhāṣya*. From the newly discovered *Paippalāda* manuscripts from Orissa, he gives other instances of *Paippalāda* mantras, being used in the construction of the *Brahmasūtras*. A full-fledged investigation on the Atharvan content of the *Brahmasūtras* can be expected to throw up interesting results. Fr. A. Esteller endeavours to indicate in his long paper on 'R̥gvedic text-reconstructions' (pp. 45-93), that there is enough grounds for a 'definitive reconstruction' of the original *R̥gveda* on the basis of metre and archaism. Prof. H.D. Velankar points out the devices that Vedic poets employed for securing economy of words in their hymns (vide his paper, 'Word-economy and R̥gvedic interpretation' (pp. 132-45); this is a field which can be investigated upon further, with advantage. Sh. Bira from Ulan Bator has very interesting information on 'Mongolian commentaries on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*' (pp. 192-97), five of them being regular commentaries and nine being mostly in the form of *śāstra-kāvyas* illustrating the figures of speech defined in the *Kāvyādarśa*. Prof. K.A.S. Iyer's study on 'Bhartṛhari on *Vyākaraṇa* as a means of attaining *Mokṣa*' (pp. 238-45) presents the views on the subject also of Patañjali and the commentators on the *Vākyapadīya*. Prof. Anantalal Thakur draws attention in his 'Problem of the *Vaiśeṣika-bhāṣya*' (489-93) to the vast *Vaiśeṣika* literature that is now lost and collects the fragments of an old *Bhāṣya* on the *Sūtras* by Ātreyā. Several of the other papers throw new light on points,

major and minor, on the respective topics they deal with. It may, however, not be feasible to notice them all in this review. Suffice it to say that we have in the volume reviewed here a fund of new information and interpretation on varied topics in the three subjects covered. *viz.*, Vedic Studies, Classical Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy and Religion.

Orientalists of all persuasions will look forward with interest to the early publication of the further portion of the Proceedings of the Congress in continuation of the present volume which is very well printed and produced.

K.V. SARMA

*BIBLIOGRAPHIE ANALYTIQUE DE TESTS DE LANGUE / ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE TESTS.* By Jean-Guy Savard. International Center for Research on Bilingualism, Quebec, 1969. Pp. xviii, 372. Price not mentioned.

Among the varius projects undertaken by the newly started (1967) International Center for Research on Bilingualism, at Quebec (Canada), the formulation of model language tests suited for various purposes and at different standards, is one. Naturally, such a project entails a good amount of spade work in the form of a thorough analysis, from different points of view, of the numerous tests currently used in the different countries for different languages, a work which is being pursued at the Center under the over-all direction of Prof. William Mackey. The Bibliography under review is a by-product of the said project, and forms a classified analytical inventory of the material laboriously collected by the Center in the above behalf. The inventory contains over 400 items, including 150 language tests in the mother tongue, 150 tests in the second language and over 100 items of documentation and source of information concerning the subject.

The description and analyses of the tests as given in the Bibliography provide ample objective and quantitative information for one to choose the most suitable test for any specified purpose. The present volume is, therefore, bound to be highly useful to individuals and institutions to choose, from among the language tests analysed here, such tests as are suited to their needs and procure the same for use from the respective sources mentioned in the Bibliography.

All thanks are due to the International Center for Bilinguism for conceiving this *Bibliography* and to Prof. Savard for setting out the information in an eminently handy manner.

SHYAM LAL DOGRA,  
V. I. S. I. S., Hoshiarpur

*SHRI NARASIMHA-VIJAYA CHAMPU* of Shri Narasimha Sastri, with the author's own commentary and stotras, Ed. by V.B. Nataraja Sastri. Atreyashrama, 28, Tennur Rd., Tiruchirapalli-17. Pp. (10), 30, 256 ; Pl. (5). Rs. 5/- (Free to students and pandits on payment of postal charges, being Rs. 1.50).

Recent studies have demonstrated, if such a demonstration were needed, the profuse production of learned writing in Sanskrit during the 19th and 20th centuries. The *Narasimhavijaya-campū* of Narasimha Śāstri of Tiruchirappalli (1830-1896), reviewed here, is a charming *Campū* belonging to this period. We owe this scholarly edition of the work to Śri V.B. Nataraja Śāstri, the author's grandson, who considered the publication of this text as the real consummation of the labours commenced by his ancestor in composing this work. He draws inspiration for this feeling in the etymology of the word *putra* (son) as *pūraṇāt putrah* !

The story of the devout Prahlāda and his redemption by Lord Viṣṇu from the persecutions of his demon father Hiranyaśaśipu, as adapted from the third and seventh *Skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* forms the theme of the present prose-verse composition. The verses are uniformly well-knit and pregnant with meaning, often with several meanings including philosophical ones, which are all explained in the commentary (e.g., I. 1-5, 28 ; II. 51, 81). The prose passages are generally lucid and graceful, notwithstanding the *Anuprāsa* and *Virodhābhāsa* which characterise them. (cf. *Brahmalokavarṇanam*, pp. 17-18, *Vaikuṇṭhadarśanam*, pp. 65-66, *Bhagavannindastuti*, pp. 107). *Śabdacitra* is attempted at places and in verse II. 71 all the seven case inflections of *yad* are illustrated with reference to Viṣṇu.

The author's own commentary, while avoiding the limitation of an auto-commentary, viz., taking too much for granted, offers

its advantages, including the full elucidation of the ideas and shades of meaning that the author had in his mind. It bristles with pertinent quotations from earlier authorities, which, indirectly, provide ample evidence to the extensive familiarity of the author with the *Vedas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Purāṇas* and the *darśanas*, especially *Vedānta*; see, for example, the commentary of II. 90 (pp. 165-70).

The editor has supplied brief but pointed notes which help the reader (1) by supplying the references to sources of quotations, (2) resolving unusual compounds, (3) referring to grammatical derivations and quoting the rules therefor, (4) enumerating groups referred to (e.g., the 8 types of *prāṇamas*, p. 20, the 64 *tattvas*, pp. 75-76, the 32 *dharmas*, p. 247 etc.) and (5) identifying the metres of the verses. He has, however, noted that the metres of four verses, being II. 34, 71, 107 and 128, could not be identified (see p. 218). It is, possible identify the metres of three of these verses. Verses II. 34 and 107 are composed in the *Śobhā* metre, defined as *rasair aśvair aśvaiḥ ya-ma-na-na-ta-ta-gair gena Śobheyam uktā*, mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* 3.103 (*Kasi Skt. Ser.* 55, 1962 edn., p. 115). Verse II. 71 is composed in the *Suvāṁśā* metre, which is defined as : *khayatā pūrvaiḥ suvāṁśā yadi ma-ra-bha-nāś ta-dvayam go guruś ca*, being an extra metre found in some manuscripts of *Vṛttaratnākara*.

The editing has been done carefully, with an eye to make the work most presentable. The text has also been suitably punctuated. The editor could have pursued in this line by judiciously inserting hyphens between compact components in the case of long compounds. The book has been fairly well proof-corrected but many more printer's errors are to be found than have been noted in the one-page Errata. But what intrigues this reviewer is the very frequent use, in the book, including the title page, of *सिंह* for *सिंह* and *वर्णि* for *वर्णि* (p. 254, line 3 and p. 255, line 9).

The editor, Shri Nataraja Sastri, deserves to be congratulated for the spirit in which he has brought out this fine publication and offered it free to interested students of Sanskrit.

K.V. SARMA

*STUDIES IN WESTERN INFLUENCE ON NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGALI POETRY—1857-1887.* By Harendra Mohan Das Gupta. Semushi, 42-1A, Sarat Bose Road, Calcutta-20, 1969. Pp. xxiv, 248. Rs. 15.

This is a new edition of an old book. Like old wine in a new flagon, it has lasted well and even improved with time. The late Prof. Das Gupta originally published this volume in 1935. That edition was exhausted in 1944. But it helped to create a small but select group of admirers whose enthusiasm has made its re-publication possible, even necessary. The edition is well got up, with a simple but tastefully designed jacket by Sri Satyajit Ray.

It is a pioneering work of its own kind. The late Prof. P. R. Sen's *Western influences on Bengali literature* is a comparable treatise, but the latter has, in a sense, too wide a range. Prof. Das Gupta's book is narrower in scope, but richer in detail. It examines the works of only four prominent poets, Madhusudan Dutt, Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay, Nabinchandra Sen and Biharilal Chakrabarti. The examination is thorough and full of insights. Few other works on Bengali literature can lay claim to such incisiveness. The book may well be said to set an example for future research workers in this field of comparative criticism.

Prof. Das Gupta had a scholarly and sensitive mind. He was familiar with the world's best literature, so that we find Milton and Keats as well as Kālidāsa and Virgil correctly assessed as models for our 19th century Bengali poets. "The broken exclamations of Cassandra" are rightly heard behind "the piteous but dignified bewailings" of Madhusudan's Sita. The critic speaks with authority when he writes: "It is clear that by the introduction of Sita in the fourth canto, Madhusudan, like Aeschylus through Cassandra in *Agamemnon*, has really achieved a triumph of tragic art." (p. 91).

All this is so convincing because Prof. Das Gupta had the ideal accomplishments of a critic — a mind, erudite and perceptive, and also, gifted with historical insight. There is no chauvinism and no dogmatising in his pronouncements. The richness and breadth of his critical mind are seen perhaps at their greatest advantage in the Introductory chapter where he carefully analyses the cultural history of Bengal in the 19th century. He is equally perceptive of similarities as well as distinctions in cultural heritages

and can thus correlate facts most interestingly without confusing issues. He throws new light on his subjects when he writes that "in certain important aspects, literary, social and political, the story of the last century in Bengal appears to be a repetition of what happened to England under the Italian Renaissance. But at the same time Bengal had succeeded in evolving a distinct culture of her own, complex, variegated and dynamic." (p. 6).

To accompany such a guide on the exploration of cultural contacts is a rare adventure and an unmixed pleasure.

DEBABRATA MUKHERJEE,

*Reader in English, Jadavpur University, Calcutta*

*BHARATIYA JYOTISH SASTRA*, By Sankar Balakrishna Dikshit, translated by Prof. R. V. Vaidya. Part I. History of Astronomy during the Vedic and Vedanga periods. The Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1969. Pp. xxxiv, 147. Rs. 12.50 ; 29 sh. 2d. ; \$ 4.50.

The *Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra athavā Bhāratīya Jyotiṣācā prācīnāṇi arvācīn itihās*, in Marathi, (Poona, 1896), by the late S. B. Dikshit grew out of a monograph which he prepared in 1888 for a Dakṣiṇā Prize of Poona and another prize from Baroda, as a most comprehensive treatise on the principles and history of Ancient Indian Astronomy, a position which it has, more or less, retained to this day despite the nearly eight decades that have passed by. The writings of Whish, Warren, Sewell, Sudhakara Dvivedi, Thibaut, Shama Sastry, Swamikannu Pillai, P. C. Sen Gupta and others who preceded and succeeded Dikshit concerned themselves with specific subjects or aspects of Indian astronomy and, so, were limited in scope. The *History of Hindu Mathematics* by Dutta and Singh remains incomplete, having covered only Arithmetic and Algebra. The *Report of the Calendar Reform Committee* of the Government of India took into its purview only the general evolution of the system but not the literature. Histories of Sanskrit and other Indian regional literatures could take but a cursory survey of astronomy, and that too from the point of view only of literature. Dikshit's work is definitely, more comprehensive than all these.

However, in spite of the pre-eminence of Dikshit's work in this matter, it is not generally known or made proper use of outside the

the Marathi-speaking region. Dr. M. N. Saha who headed the Calendar Reform Committee noted that "the work is in Marathi and unaccessible to majority of India" (*sic*) on account of the Marathi language being not understood elsewhere and so "expressed the hope that it should be translated into English for the use of all." (*Report of the Cal. Ref. Com.*, 1955, New Delhi, p. 11). In fact, Dikshit himself entertained such a hope and stated in the Introduction to his work: "If, fortunately, this work is translated into English, this detailed exposition of my views will come to the notice of European scholars and receive proper consideration from them." (p. xvi). The credit for fulfilling these aspirations goes to Prof. R. V. Vaidya, Superintendent of the Jiwaji Observatory, Ujjain, who has translated the work, and to the Director of Observatories, Government of India, who has published it. A regret, however, from the academic point of view, is the inordinate delay that has occurred in the matter. The translation which had already been commenced in 1955 (*vide Report, ibid.*, p. 11 fn.) has taken about 15 years (1969) for the publication of a third of the work. Another point of regret is the statement in the Preface that "the work is rather voluminous and it would take considerable time to publish the whole book in one volume. Hence, it has been decided to publish the book in three parts." (p. iv). Now, the present part contains only about 150 pages and the whole work, which is not expected to exceed 500 pages, cannot be said to be 'voluminous'. The whole work in one volume, with continuous paging and consolidated index, should definitely have suited the scholar better. Even as it is, a certain number of copies could be bound and issued as single volumes when the work has been completely printed.

Dikshit's work, which is as exhaustive as he could make it with the material available to him in the 1890-s, covers both the theory and literature of Indian astronomy from the earliest period and is divided into three parts, dealing, respectively, with (I) Vedic and *Vedāṅga* periods, (II) *Siddhāntic* period and (III) Modern period. The present publication, which contains only Part I, surveys in detail the evolution of the science from the speculative and 'casual reference' stages of the times of the Vedic *Samhitās* to about 1000 B.C., by when it had been systematised in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. The pertinent pieces of information gleaned from the older *Smṛtis*, such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, and the *Mahābhārata* have also been recorded here. In spite of the technical nature of the subject, the work offers absorbing reading. The statements of facts, discussions and deductions made by the author

are corroborated, at every step, by extensive quotations from the Vedic and other relevant sources. These quotations, are mostly translated or summarised in easy language for general comprehension. Special mention has to be made of the nearly full translation and detailed exposition of the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (pp. 67-86).

Prof. Vaidya has done a fine job in rendering the original Marathi into English. The translation is accurate, uninhibited and very readable. He has also taken the trouble to supply useful footnotes to elucidate the text (see, e.g., pp. 17, 18, 114, 116) and to translate passages left untranslated by Dikshit (see, e.g., pp. 19, 42). It would be highly advantageous to the students of the present translation if this amplification of the text by the translator is pursued further, from another point of view: Now, a good deal of expository and research work on ancient astronomy has been done during the 75 years since the Marathi original was published. Students of this discipline would greatly welcome an annotated and fully referenced bibliography of these later writings on the subject compiled by the translator and added to the publication as an Appendix. The publication could gain, in the matter of presentation, (1) by the addition of topical folio headings to the pages instead of printing on the top of the pages *ad nauseam* the name of the book and the name of the Part, as is done now; and (2) by the suitable numbering of the numerous sections and sub-sections, so as to facilitate their easy reference. It is also desirable to use, uniformly, in the case of technical terms their original Sanskrit forms and not the secondarily derived Hindi forms as is sometimes done now (cf. *rca*, p. 56; *r̄cds*, p. 58; *Patanjal* p. 88; *Amarkoṣa*, p. 78, etc.). This tendency has affected even the title of the book and has changed it to *Jyotish Sastra* in the place of the original *Jyotiṣa-Śāstra*. It is also necessary to add an Errata to correct the frequent printer's errors in the book, some of the more serious ones occurring on pp. 107 fn., 118 (in line 3, 108 should be 117), 119 (Śaka 180 in line 3 from bottom) and 138 fn. Again, the word Pāṇini is very often spelt with a long 'i' as Pāṇini (e.g., pp. 89, 102, 108). Bhaṭṭotpala is always wrongly spelt as Bhaṭotpala (see, e.g., pp. 88, 94) and Thibaut as Thibbaut (pp. 66, 67).

The Preface echoes the generally held Western view that complete decadency had set into Indian scientific thought from the

later middle ages, when it observes that the development of astronomy "which continued upto the 12th century A.D. came to a standstill thereafter". (p.iii). This is not really true, at least with regard to the South, especially the west coast. Investigations on astronomy continued to be carried on in this region and novel methods and emendations to earlier practices continued to be advanced, down the centuries, a fact borne out by the works of astronomers like Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma (14th-15th cent.), Parameśvara of Vaṭaśeri (14th-15th cent.), Gārgya-Kerala Nilakanṭha Somayāji (15th-16th cent.), Acyuta Piṣāraṭi (16th-17th cent.) and others. The bulk of their works yet remains in manuscript form but several texts are available in print.\*

The present English rendering of the pioneering work of S. B. Dikshit would be welcomed by all students of the history of Indian astronomy; the work may, indeed, be expected to give an impetus to further textual and comparative studies on the subject. While being thankful for Part I of the work published now, scholars would keenly look forward to the expeditious publication of the further Parts of the work.

K. V. SARMA

*STORIA DELLE LETTERATURE D'ORIENTE*, Diretta da Oscar Botto. Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallard Società Editrice Libraria, Milano (Italie), 1969. Vols. I-IV. Pp. (37), 937 ; (24), 705 ; (31), 905 ; (28), 871. Price not stated.

A full-fledged survey of Oriental literature in four magnificent volumes, running to over 3500 pages, beautifully produced and chastely illustrated, forms the latest offering which Italy has added to its already voluminous contribution to Oriental studies. This enormous undertaking was sponsored by the Italian National Commission for the Unesco and was executed by Prof. Oscar Botto, Director of the Institute of Indology at the University of Turin, Italy.

\*For instance, *Venvaroha* of Mādhava ; *Dṛgganita*, *Goladīpikā*, *Grahanamāṇḍana* and *Grahananāyadīpikā* of Parameśvara ; *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* and *Golasaṭṭa* of Nilakanṭha, *Rāśigolaspūṭanīti* of Acyuta, all edited by the present reviewer and *Mahābhāskarīya-vyākhyā* of Parameśvara edited by T.S.K. Sastri. See also the Introductions added to these editions.

It was propitious that Prof. Botto was exceptionally equipped for the task on account of his direct contact with the study of several Oriental languages and literatures during his sojourn and study in the East, especially India. Twenty-seven other experts in the different literatures have also collaborated in the project and contributed chapters relating to the areas of their specialisation.

The volumes cover, among themselves, the literatures of the entire region connoted by the term 'Orient' in its broadest sense, viz., the region bounded, on the west, by Egypt and Ethiopia towards the south and Turkey and Syria towards the north, and, on the east by Indonesia towards the south and Japan towards the north. Again, the account pertaining to each literature covers its history from its genesis to, more or less, modern times. Volume One covers Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Syrian, Old Arabic, Armenian, Georgean, Hebrew, Cananean, Coptic and Ethiopcean. Volume Two covers Modern Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Pakistani and Afgan. Volume Three refers to Ancient Indian literature covering Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Buddhist, Jain, and Modern Indian literatures, the last comprising Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Assamese, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam; Central Asian; Laotian; Cambodian; Siamese; Sinhalese; Malayan; and Indonesian. Volume Four covers Chinese, Vietnamese, Burmese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchurian, Japanese and Korean. The account of each literature is divided into several sections and sub-sections in which each individual topic is treated chronologically, subjectwise. Illustrations, both in colour and in half-tone, supplied as necessary, conduce to the directness of appeal of the written account. Detailed bibliographies of the source-books and books for further reading are supplied at the close of the account of each literature. The exhaustive subject indexes added to each volume make reference to the different volumes easy.

Following the *sthālīpulāka-nyāya*, according to which, in a uniform assemblage, a specimen would illustrate the whole, we might notice here Volume Three, covering the Indian literatures, with which the present reviewer happens to have greater familiarity. Indian literatures have been treated under two broad divisions, Ancient Indian and Medieval-Modern Indian, the former contributed by the Editor, Prof. Botto, himself and the latter by five other scholars. Ancient Indian literature, again, is treated under five sections: (1) Vedic, (2) Epics and Purāṇas, (3) Buddhist and Jain

which vouch for both Pali and Prakrit, (4) Classical Sanskrit and (5) Technical and Philosophical. The other literatures cover one section each. On the background of a brief statement of the geographical, historical and ethnic features of the regions concerned, are presented the main currents and trends of each literature. Extracts, in translation, are given from the more important texts, with a view to illustrate particular ideas or modes of expression, i.e., from the *Rgveda*, *Śākuntala*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Dhammapada*, *Nyāyabhāṣya* etc. Secular literature gets greater representation and more detailed treatment than technical and philosophical literature. Again, the earlier periods are studied rather elaborately, the modern periods suffering by contrast.

Certain features of a minor nature tend to make the volumes suitable to introduce the subject even to the novice. Thus, precious little is taken for granted. Along with every non-Italian word occurring in the narrative is given, when it is first introduced, its literal meaning and, when necessary, also the meaning intended in the context. Technical terms are elaborated and explained. Attention is often drawn also to counterparts from the West so as to make the reading interesting besides instructive.

Among features which the present reviewer would suggest to the editor and the publisher for inclusion in a future edition of the work, in order to enhance its utilitarian value are : (1) Supply of geographical and linguistic maps (with inset world-maps), at the beginning of the account of each literature, indicating the areas where the language of that literature was or is prevalent ; (2) Short notes on the languages to precede the accounts of the literatures, which, at present, only a few of the accounts (e.g., Tamil) have and (3) Tables indicating the chronology of the literatures, for the sake of ready reference.

We may say, in fine, that Western students of Oriental literature, have in the four volumes reviewed here, a veritable literary encyclopaedia, carrying authentic information, presented in exquisite form. The Editor and the publishers might, with advantage to the non-Italian reading scholars, consider issuing versions of it in a few other European languages also.

K. V. SARMA

## INDOLOGICAL NEWS AND NOTES

### INTERNAL

#### Membership

During the period from September 1, 1969 to August 31, 1970, the V.V.R. Institute Society added 7 new Life Members (Subs. Rs. 500/-) and 3 new Associate Members (Subs. Rs. 12/- p.a.) to its rolls.

#### Annual Meeting

The 67th Annual Meeting of the General Body of the V.V.R.I. Society was held on Sunday, the 30th August, 1970, with Shri Mohan Lal of the Servants of the People Society in the chair. It was attended by 52 Members and a number of other friends of the Society. The proceedings began with the adoption of a Condolence Resolution on the sad demise during the previous year of 19 Members of the Society. The minutes of the previous meeting of the Society held on 31-8-1969 were then read and confirmed. The Audited Statement of Income and Expenditure for the year 1969-70 and the Budget Estimates for the year 1970-71 were then duly considered and passed. The Director of the Institute as the Joint-Secretary of the Society then placed before the house the Annual Report of the working of the Institute for 1969-70 and the same was formally approved for being published. The Meeting then elected Justice Keso Ram Passi (Patiala), Shri Suraj Bhan (Chandigarh), Shri Roshan Lal Kuthiala (Hoshiarpur), Air Vice-Marshall Ajit Nath (New Delhi), and Shri Raghunath Chandra Shastri, Prin. Ram Das, Prin. Rala Ram, Shri Sansar Chand and Shri Durga Das (Hoshiarpur) as Members of the Executive Board consisting, altogether, of 22 members. Shri Mohan Lal, in his presidential remarks congratulated the management and staff of the Institute for the dedicatory spirit with which the extensive working of the Institute was being carried on. The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the chair by Shri Sansar Chand, a Member of the Executive Board.

#### Academic Staff

Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, Reader in Sanskrit, Shri Diwan Chand, Deputy Director (Administration), Prin. N.N. Sarin, Asstt. Director (Printing and Publication-sales), Shri Amar Nath Shastri, Pandit-

cum-Asstt. Editor and Dr. R.K. Kaw, Associate Lecturer-cum-Asstt. Editor, retired from the service of the Institute.

Dr. B. R. Sharma, Ex-Director, Central Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati, joined the Institute as Professor of Sanskrit (Vedic Lexicography and Text Editing) and Shri Tek Chand Vijh as Research Scholar.

### Publications

The undermentioned research and cultural publications were issued during the period :

- (a) Śāntakuṭi Vedic Research Series :
  - 1. *Vaidika Saṅkalpa Sandhya*, By Vishva Bandhu.
- (b) Vishveshvaranand Indological Series :
  - 2. *Atharvavedīya-Ṛṣi-Devatā-Chandonukramaṇikā*, Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.
  - 3. *Buddhist monuments and sculptures in Gujarat (A historical survey)*, By K.F. Sompura.
  - 4. *Puruṣārthopadeśa of Bhartrhari*, Cr. ed. by K.V. Sarma.
  - 5. *Vṛttavivecanam of Durgāsahāya*, Cr. ed. by K.V. Sarma.
- (c) Nityanand Universal Series :
  - 6. *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti kī kahānī*, By Bahadur Mal.
  - 7. *Gītā kā karma-yoga*, By Vishva Bandhu.
  - 8. *Panjāb kī bhāṣā-samasyā* (The language problem of Panjab), By Vishva Bandhu.
- (d) Children's Literature Series :
  - 9. *Camatkāron kī duniyān*, By Sant Ram.
- (e) Other Publications :
  - 10-26. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series*,
  - 27. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. VII (1969).
  - 28. *Viśva-Saṁskṛtam* (Skt. Quarterly), Vol. VI (1968-69) ii-vi.
  - 29. *Vishva Jyoti* (Hindi Monthly), Vol. XVIII. vii-xii (Oct. 1969 to March 1970), XIX. i-vi (April to Sept., 1970).
  - 30. *V. V. R. Institute News Bulletin*, Vol. V. ii (Oct. 1969).

### Hindi Sāhitya Sāriṇī

The classified Bibliography of Hindi literature published upto 1964, entitled *Hindi-Sāhitya Sāriṇī*, as compiled by the Institute was

in the press during the year. Pages 465 to 888 of the book were printed off.

#### Ancient Indian Phonetic Terminology

This work made due progress during the year and 177 terms from the *Rgveda-Pratisakhya* were critically annotated upon, raising the total number of terms, so far treated, to 3561.

#### Dictionary of N.-W. Himalayan Dialects

The work on the Comparative Dictionary of 27 N.-W. Himalayan Dialects made good progress. The Dictionary as well as the Reverse Index sections of the 16 Pahari dialects were completed and the consolidation of the work as a whole was completed up to to letter *k*.

#### Translation Work

Of the University level English books allotted to the Institute by the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology of the Central Ministry of Education, the printing of *A manual of foreign exchange* by H. E. Ewitt was completed, while that of *Mathematical methods of statistics* by Herald Cramer and *The outline of history* by H. G. Wells was still in progress. The translation of Berkeley's *Principles of human knowledge* was completed and that of William James' *Varieties of religious experience* was in progress.

#### Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal

Volume VII of the *Journal* was issued as a composite volume for 1969. This volume carried 17 research papers, 3 obituary notices, reviews of 39 recent publications, 162 items of news and notes of Indological interest and the critical edition of the *Vṛttavivecanam* of Durgāsahāya.

#### Viśva-Samskṛtam

The Sanskrit Quarterly *Viśva-Samskṛtam* issued the numbers ii to iv of its volume VI (1968-69). These three numbers carried, amongst themselves, 21 research, literary and culture articles, 7 poems, 2 plays, editorial comments, reviews of recent publications and news and notes of Sanskritic interest.

#### Vishva Jyoti

Twelve issues, being XVIII. vii-xii and XIX. i-vi of the Hindi Monthly *Vishva Jyoti* were issued during the period. These included a 440-page Annual Special Number entitled *Mahābhārata Āṅk* and a 62-page Supplement thereto, which, together contained 47 articles and 14 poems on and 4 collections of maxims from the *Mahābhārata*,

besides about 250 Dedicatory-Memorial Pages, giving the quintessence of the Great Epic in the form of over 500 select verses, accompanied by their Hindi rendering.

### Library

The new building of the Library was completed and the book stock was shifted to it.

### College Department

Of the three students who appeared for M. A. (II) Examination in Sanskrit, all passed and of the six that appeared for M. A. (I), three passed. The only student who sat for the Acharya (II) Examination passed in the First division. Both the students who wrote the Shastri (II) Examination passed, one in the First Division. All the six students who appeared for Shastri (I) were successful.

### Distinctions Won

In the Sanskrit contests held at the Government Sanskrit College, Hoshiarpur, Shri Satyakam (Acharya I) and Shri Ghanashyam (Acharya II) won the First and Second Prizes in the Sanskrit Declamation Contest and Shri Haridatt (Shastri II) won the Second Prize in the Recitation Contest.

### Essay Competition

With a view to popularising Ancient Indian cultural studies among science students, an annual essay contest, named Smt. Lilavati Hukum Chand Mahajan Essay Competition, carrying a Prize of Rs. 200/- for the best essay in Hindi and open to B.Sc. students of Panjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, was started. The subject as prescribed for the Essay for 1970 was *Karmayoga in the Bhagavadgītā*.

### Declamation Contest

In the Inter-Collegiate Declamation and Recitation Contest held on February 20, 1970, under the auspices of the Students' Association (*Chakra Parishad*) of the Institute College, about 30 students from the Panjab, Haryana, Himachal pradesh and the Union Territory of Chandigarh participated. The function was inaugurated by the Director and was presided over by Prin. Rala Ram. Dr. Mathura Prasad Pandeya, Dr. S. D. Parashar and Smt. Phula Bhandari formed the panel of judges. The Running Trophy for the Declamation Contest was won by the Dayanand Sanskrit College, Dinanagar, while individual prizes were awarded to Brah. Jayapal (Dinanagar), Shri Bhim Dev (Kurukshetra), Brah. Bharat Singh

(Dinanagar) and Kum. Mina Gupta (Hoshiarpur). The prizes for Recitation were won by Kum. Som Lata (Hoshiarpur), Shri Ashok Chopra (Chandigarh) and Shri Anand Kumar (Hoshiarpur).

### Sanskrit Day

Sanskrit Day was celebrated all over India on August 17, 1970, the *Rakshabandhan Day*. The special function held to celebrate the occasion at the Institute was inaugurated by the Director and presided over by Prin. Rala Ram. Dr. Shiv Prasad Bhardwaj, Dr. B. B. Choubey and Shri Virendra Shartri spoke on the importance of Sanskrit and the ways and means to promote its study. Shri Inder Dutt Uniyal, Dr. S. D. Parashar and Shri Surendra Kumar Sharma, recited poems on the occasion. A resolution requesting the Central and State governments to modify, suitably, the curriculum of the Higher Secondary Schools so as to enable science students also to study Sanskrit was unanimously passed at the meeting.

### Sarasvati Samaj (Literary Association)

During the monthly meetings of the Sarasvati Samaj of the Institute, held on the last Friday of every month, the following scholars presented research papers on the subjects noted against their names :

- 31.10.1969 : Shri Virendra Shastri : 'An analytical study of *mātrā* in Sanskrit grammar'.
- 28.11.1969 : Dr. Shiv Prasad Bhardwaj : '*Bimbavidhāna* in *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*'.
- 26.12.1969 : Pt. Amarnath Shastri : 'The meaning of the word *ṛtam*'.
- 21. 1. 1970 : Special lecture by Dr. Hari Lal Munje of Kanpur on 'The Bahaai Faith'. Prof. Sohalia Ali of Iran also spoke on the occasion.
- 30. 1. 1970 : Shri K. V. Sarma : 'Śrī-Tilakayaśorṇavāḥ of M. S. Aney : A critical study'.
- 27. 2. 1970 : Prof. Jagannath Agrawal : 'The date of Viśākhadatta'.
- 27. 3. 1970 : Shri K. V. Sarma : '*Mahabharata* in Greater India'.
- 24. 4. 1970 : Prof. Jagannath Agrawal : 'Some thoughts on the *Mr̥cchakaṭika* of Śūdraka'.
- 29. 5. 1970 : Dr. Shyam Lal Dogra : 'The nature of *visarga* (aspiration) in Sanskrit'.
- 19. 8. 1970 : Special lecture by Bhikshu Jengo, Buddhist monk from Japan, on 'Zen Buddhism'.

28.8.1970 : Shri Tek Chand Vigh : 'Māyāvāda in Buddhist philosophy'.

### Farewell Meetings

27.6.1970 : Shri Amar Nath Shastri, Pandit-cum-Asstt. Editor (Vedic Lexicographical Deptt.), was given a send-off on his retirement from the service of the Institute.

31.7.1970 : Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, Reader in Sanskrit, Shri Diwan Chand, Depy. Director (Administration) and Prin. N.N. Sarin, Asstt. Director (Printing and Publication-sales) were given a send-off on their retirement from the service of the Institute.

### Other Functions

26.1.1970 : The Indian Republic Day was celebrated with the hoisting of the national flag and the singing of the national anthem. Prin. Rala Ram who spoke on the occasion made mention of the fissiparous tendencies apparent in the land and stressed the need for coordinated efforts at the national level for the progress of the country.

8.3.1970 : The Spring Sports Festival (*Vasanta-pāñcami Utsava*) of the Institute, in which both the staff and the students took part, was concluded with *Prītibhojan* (community lunch). The prizes for the various games were distributed to the winners at a special meeting held, on the same day, under the presidentship of Shri Milkhi Ram, Advocate.

15.8.1970 : The Independence Day was commemorated with the unfurling of the national flag, when Prin. Rala Ram spoke about Indian national integrity and impressed on the audience the necessity of preserving the hard-won freedom of the land.

### Vishva Satsang (Universal Cultural Congregation)

The Institute continued to hold, regularly, its weekly meetings (*Vishva Satsang*) on Sunday evenings which used to be attended by the inmates of the Ashram as also by the public. The congregations were addressed by Shri Acharya Vishva Bandhu, Prin. Rala Ram, Shri Dev Dutta Shastri and Shri Munishwar Deo and the gist of the talks delivered on these occasions was being published, regularly, in the *Vishva Jyoti*. Some of these meetings were devoted to the celebration of the *Jayanti-s* (birthdays) of Shri Ram, Shri Krishna, Mahavira, Buddha, Valmiki, Vyasa, Guru Nanak, Guru Govind, Svami Dayanand,

Sant Ravidas, Mahatma Hanasraj and Dhaniram Bhalla and the festivals of Dipavali, Lohri, Republic Day, Rishi-Bodhotsava and Raksha-bandhan.

### Visitors

A large number of distinguished scholars and other friends visited the Institute during the period, among whom mention might be made of the following : Dr. Dharendra Sharma (Michigan, U. S.), Miss Uma M. Visky (Italy), Prin. Krishan Chander Sachdeva (Bilaspur), Shri Dev Raj Swami (Delhi), Svami Vishuddhanand (Rishikesh), Shri Darshan Kumar Sethi (Kanpur), Smt. Vidyavati Sabharval (Calcutta), The Hon. Shri Padam Dev (Simla), Shri K. L. Nanda (Bombay), Prin. Gyan Chand (Hissar), Dr. S. D. Joshi (Ludhiana), Shri Yadav Rai Joshi (Nagpur), Dr. P. Sriramamurthi (Waltair), Mr. Arthur Hughes (Dehra Dun), Dr. Hardev Prasad Mehta (Jwalapur), Shri Har Bhagwan Sethi (Delhi), Dr. Hari Lal Munje (Kanpur), Prof. Sohalia Ali of Iran (Chandigarh), Shri Govardhan Lal Bajaj (Namrup, Assam), Prof. Satya Pal Puri (Mussorie), Shri Chandi Prasad (Calcutta), Shri Vishnu Prasad Poddar (Ranchi), Shri Vasudev Purohit (Allahabad), Shri Lalit Kumar Mukherji (Delhi), Shri Shunya Swami (Almora), Prof. Atma Chandra Gaur (Rohtak), Dr. D. N. Shukla, Dr. D. D. Sharma, Prof. K. K. Dhawan, Shri K. C. Walia (Chandigarh), Prof. Prithvi Raj Jain (Ambala), Prof. Tulsi Raman (Mandi), Acharya Vishvanath (Khanna), Swami Sevanand Giri (Nangal), Dr. Rup Lal Soni (Mandalay, Burma), Dr. Shri Krishan (Pathankot), Shri Harbans Lal Chadda (New Delhi), Shri Kundan Lal Anand, Shri Bhakshi Sher Singh (Jullundur), Dr. Sarvadaman (Amritsar), Swami Chimandas Paramahamsa (Hardwar), Baba Hari Kishan Singh, Shri Bal Kishan (Chandigarh), Swami Anand, Swami Jnananand (New Delhi), Shri Hari Ram Juneja (Bilaspur), Dr. Vasudeva Dwivedi (Varanasi), Shri Shyam Kishore Lal (Kanpur), Dr. Shakti Sharma (Tennessee, U. S.), Shri J. Narayana Rao (Bangalore), Shri Vijnanendra Nath Kak (Roorki), Shri Shanker Gaur (Simla), Swami Satyanand (Wardha), Sardar Major Sher Singh (Dehra Gopipur), Shri Satyavrat Vyas (Jaipur), Dr. Gopalkrishna Sharma, Dr. William F. Nelson (Tennessee, U. S.) Dr. Brahmadev (Chandigarh), Acharya Krishnadev (Delhi), Bhikshu Jengo (Japan) and Prof. J. E. B. Gray (London).

## EXTERNAL

**Indian Republic Day Awards**

The following scholars were selected for national awards on the occasion of the Indian Republic Day, on January 26, 1970 : *Padma Vibhushan* : Dr. Tara Chand, New Delhi. *Padma Bhushan* : Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, New York ; Dr. Buddhadeva Bose, Calcutta ; Shri Gurram Joshua, Guntur ; Shri Sombhu Mitra, Calcutta ; Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, Hyderabad ; Shri T. S. Avinashi-lingam Chettiar, Madras ; Dr. V. Satyanarayana, Vijaywada ; and Shri Yashpal, Lucknow.

**Jnanapith Award**

The Urdu poet Shri Raghupati Sahay 'Firaq' Gorakhpuri has been selected for the Bharatiya Jnanapith Award of Rs. one lakh for his collection of poems entitled *Gulenagma*.

**Nehru Award**

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin has been awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Award of Rs. one lakh for international understanding for 1968 by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi.

**Nehru Fellowship**

The Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund awarded, on the occasion of his sixth death anniversary, on May 26, 1970, two-year Fellowships to Dr. K. S. Singh, Deputy Secretary, Delhi, for his research work on 'Tribal Society', and Shri I. Mahadevan, Managing Director, Modern Bakeries Ltd., Delhi, for his project on the 'Decipherment of the Indus script'.

**Fellows of the Sahitya Akademi**

The following five scholars have been elected as Fellows of the Sahitya Akademi : Sarvashri Tarashanker Banerji, (Bengali writer), Muhammad Bashir (Malayalam novelist), V. S. Khandekar (Marathi novelist), V. Satyanarayana (Telugu poet) and Raghupati Sahay 'Firaq' Gorakhpuri (Urdu poet).

**Sahitya Akademi Awards**

Sixteen writers have been awarded the Central Sahitya Akademi Awards for 1969. The award-winners and the award-winning books are : Prof. Atul Chandra Hazarika : *Manchlekha* (Assamese), Shri Manindra Ray : *Mohini Araal* (Bengali), Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray : *An Artist in life* (English), Swami Anand : *Kulkathao* (Gujarati), Dr. H. Tippe Rudraswami : *Karnatak Sanskriti Samikse* (Kannada),

Abdul Khaliq Tak Zainagiri : *Kā : Shri Zab' : Ny Hund Alaaqavaad Phera* (Kashmiri), Shri Upendra Jha : *Du Patra* (Maithili), Edasseri Govindan Nair : *Kavile pattu* (Malayalam), Shri S.N. Banhatti: *Natyacharya Deval* (Marathi), Shri Surendra Mohanty : *Nila Saila* (Oriya), Dr. Harbhajan Singh : *Na dhuppen na chhaven* (Panjabi), Shri M.U. Malkani : *Sindhi nasr ji Tarikh* (Sindhi), Shri Bharatidasan : *Pichīrandaiyar* (Tamil), Shri T. Seetaramamurthy : *Mahatmakatha* (Telugu), Shri Makhdoom Mohiuddin : *Bisat-i-Raqs* (Urdu), Shrilal Shukla : *Ran darbari* (Hindi).

### Nehru Prizes

Prof. Babajan Gafurov, Indologist, and Natalia Guseva, producer of a stage version, in Russian, of the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, were awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Prize for 1969, on the occasion of the Indian Republic Day on January 26, 1970.

### Kerala Sahitya Akademi Fellows

Shri V. V. Giri, President of India, conferred the first Fellowships of the Kerala Sahitya Akademi on Shri K. P. Kesava Menon, writer, and Mahakavi G. Sankara Kurup, poet, of Malayalam. Shri Puthezhathu Rama Menon, prolific Malayalam writer, has been selected as the third Fellow of the Akademi.

### Dr. Bhagawan Das Award

Dr. B. L. Joshi was awarded the Dr. Bhagawan Das Award, 1970, instituted by the Government of Uttar Pradesh for his book entitled *Kashmir Shaiva Darshan and Kamayani*.

### Russian Prize for Hindi Poet

The Hindi poet Harivansh Rai Bachan has been awarded the *Lotus Prize* for 1970 instituted by the Moscow newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* for outstanding writers of Asia and Africa.

### Librarian honoured

Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, National Professor of Library Science, was awarded on July 3, 1970, the Margeret Mann Award by the American Library Association, for outstanding pioneering work in library science.

### Award to teachers

One hundred teachers of the Primary and Secondary Schools, including nine Sanskrit teachers, were awarded a Merit Certificate

and a cash Payment of Rs. 500/- each on the occasion of the Teachers' Week which commenced on September 4, 1970.

#### Scholars honoured

Mrs. Norah Richards, the 90-year old educationist and writer of modern Panjabi drama, was conferred the degree of D. Litt. (h.c.), by the Panjabi University, Patiala, on 28.2.1970.

Shri Balraj Sahni, Panjabi writer, and Shri Kushwant Singh, historian, were honoured by the Panjab Government with awards of Rs. 5100 each and an *Abhinandana-patra*, on April 25, 1970, at a function presided over by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Central Minister of Education.

The Panjab Government honoured with cash awards eleven writers selected by the State Languages Department, Patiala, for their outstanding contribution to Panjabi and Hindi, during 1969-70.

The Jain savant and scholar Agama Prabhakara Munishri Punyavijayaji has been elected (1970) as an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore (U.S.).

The Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad honoured 28 septegenarian writers on the occasion of its two-day Diamond Jubilee celebrations, held at Poona on 28 and 29, January, 1970. The scholars honoured included MM Dr. P.V. Kane, Dr. H R. Divekar, MM. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrapur, Dr. S. D. Pendse and Tarkatirtha Shri Laxman Sastri Joshi.

The Andhra University conferred, on the occasion of its 43rd convocation on December 26, 1969, the honorary degree of *Kalā-prapūrṇa* on Shri Seetarama Murty and Shri Gurram Joshua, both noted poets in Telugu.

The Sri Venkatesvara University conferred the degree of D. Litt. on Shri Pingali Lakshmi Kantam, Telugu poet, at its convocation held on 7th Feb., 1970.

The University of Mysore conferred the honorary degree of D. Litt. on three Kannada scholars for their contribution to Kannada literature : Prof. S.V. Ranganna, Prof. D.L. Narasimhachariar and Shri A.N. Krishna Rao.

Smt. Sujata Priyambada, Bengali poetess, was honoured on February 14, 1970 with the United Nations Day International Award

of Honour for devoted work through poetry for international peace, understanding and brotherhood.

### Sāmaveda Festival

The Sāmaveda Festival organised by the National Cultural Organisation, New Delhi, concluded on September 6, 1970. The festival included traditional and musical renderings of the *Sāmaveda* and also lectures on that Veda.

### Atharvaveda in South India

The oral tradition of *Atharvaveda* in its Paippalāda recension has been revived in South India by H.H. the Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pith, Kumbhakonam. In the first phase of his scheme, two young scholars have completed the study of the entire *Saṁhitā* text of that Veda from Pt. Vasudev Ramaniklal, a traditional scholar in that Veda, belonging to Madpur (Dt. Mahosana) near Ahmedabad.

### Sanskrit Day

The Sanskrit Day was celebrated all over India on August 17, 1970, the day of *Rakṣābandhan* and *Upākarma*.

### Sanskrit Institutes

Three Central Sanskrit Institutes, at Jammu, Allahabad and Puri, have been planned by the Government of India.

### Research Scholarships for Sanskrit

The Government of India, has, as in previous years, called for applications for Research Scholarships from traditional students of Sanskrit for 1970-71. The amount of the scholarship has, now, been raised to Rs. 200/- p. m.

### All-India Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad

The All-India Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Delhi, held its 1970 session on August 17, 1970, with Pt. Charu Dev Shastri in the chair.

### Works of Appayya Dikṣita

A society called *Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣitendrar Granthāvalī Prakaśana Samiti* has been set up in Secunderabad (Sri Krishna Bhavan, 223/c, Marredpalli (West), Secunderabad-26, A. P.) on 2.6.1969, for the publication of Sanskrit texts in general and of the numerous works of Appayya Dikṣita, the prolific author of the 16th century, in particular.

### Sanskrit Refresher Course

A 40-day Sanskrit Refresher Course was organised by the Bharata Vidyapeeth, Nilambur (Kerala), from 8.10.1969.

### World Sanskrit Conference

A two-day World Sanskrit Conference was held at Allahabad on February, 7-8, 1971.

### All-India Sanskrit Elocution Competition

The annual All-India Sanskrit Elocution Competition convened by the Ministry of Education was inaugurated in Delhi on 27.1.1970 by Shri Bhakta Darshan, Minister of State for Education.

### Himachal Sanskrit Conference

The Second Himachal Sanskrit Conference was held in Simla on 17.8.1970.

### Prachya Sanskriti Parishad

The Fourth Conference of the Prachya Sanskriti Parishad was inaugurated at Varanasi on January 13, 1970 by Shri G.S. Pathak, Vice-President of India.

### Bhoja Seminar

A 5-day Seminar on 'The contribution of Bhoja to the different branches of Indological studies' was held by the Department of Sanskrit of the Vikram University, Ujjain, from February 25 to March 1, 1970.

### Gītā Seminar

A three-day Seminar on *Gītā* (*Gītā-Samikṣā*) was held from March 7-9, 1970, by the Department of Sanskrit of the Sri Venkatesvara University, Tirupati.

### Tantric Art

An Exhibition of Indian Tantric Art was opened at the Galerie du Point in Paris on 17.2.1970. The largest Tantric exhibition to be held abroad, it was organised by Shri Ravi Kumar of the Kumar Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi.

### Seminar on Indian Literature

A two-week Seminar on Indian Literature, convened by Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, was inaugurated on May 11, 1970, by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Central Minister of Education.

### Hindi Academy

The U.P. Government has set up, at Lucknow, a Hindi Granth

Academy with Shri C. Balakrishna Rao as its Director for the promotion of Hindi in that State. Besides itself as preparing research and reference works, the Academy will help in the publication of similar works by individual authors.

### Hindi Encyclopaedia

The twelfth and final volume of the *Hindi Vishvakosh*, produced by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, was released by the Prime Minister of India at a special function held at New Delhi on 9th April, 1970.

### Hindi Writers from non-Hindi States

Twenty Hindi authors from non-Hindi States were awarded cash prizes of Rs. 1000/- and a Certificate each by the Central Education Minister at a function held in New Delhi on April 7, 1970, for outstanding Hindi works produced by them during 1969.

### Tulasi Jayanti

The birth anniversary of the national Hindi poet Tulasidās was celebrated by the All-India Tulasi Smarak Samiti at New Delhi from 9 to 18, August, 1970. A Committee with the Indian Prime Minister as Chairman has also been set up to celebrate, suitably, the 400th anniversary of the poet, in 1973-74.

### Mahakavi Suryamall Centenary

The centenary celebrations of the renowned Rajasthani poet of Bundi, Suryamall, author of *Vamśabhāskara*, an elaborate ballad on the history of heroism in India, was inaugurated at New Delhi on February 6, 1970, by Shri V. V. Giri, President of India.

### Pahari Literary Conference

A two-day Pahari Literary Conference was held at Simla on March 27 and 28, 1970. Thirty-one poets, authors and research scholars were presented with cash prizes at a literary Darbar held at the end of the Conference.

### Seminar on Persian Studies

A three-day Seminar on Persian Studies in India was held in New Delhi from 25 to 27, December 1969, being sponsored by the Indo-Iranian Society, Calcutta. Among the decisions taken at the Seminar were the compilation of the Catalogue of over one lakh of Persian manuscripts in public and private collections in India and the setting up of a Microfilm Library of rare Persian works which would throw light on Indo-Iranian culture.

### Seminar on Tamil Studies

The Third International Seminar of Tamil Studies was held in Paris from 15-18, July 1970, and was presided over by Prof. Dr. J. Filliozat, Professor of Sanskrit, Paris University, and Director, French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry.

### Tamil Research Centre

The Loyola College, Madras, has set up the Veeramamunivar Tamil Research Centre to conduct research studies on the writings of Fr. Beschi, the 17th-18th cent. Jesuit savant and scholar of Tamil.

### Seminar of *Tolkāppiyam*

A Seminar on the Linguistic study of *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest grammar of Tamil, was held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, on February 27 and 28, 1970.

### Tamil Seminar

A two-day Working Seminar of Tamil writers was organised by the Christian Literature Society, Madras-3, on December 13-14, 1969, and was attended by about 80 writers and critics.

### Purāṇas in Kannada

The authorities of the Veda-Purāṇa Sāhityamālā, Gadag (Mysore), have started work on a project for rendering into Kannada all the 18 Mahāpurāṇas in Sanskrit.

### Bibliography of Malayalam Literature

The Kerala Sahitya Akademi has taken up the compilation of an exhaustive Bibliography of Printed Literature in Malayalam, under the editorship of Shri K. M. Govi, National Library, Calcutta.

### Translations in Malayalam

A Bibliography of Translations into Malayalam from other languages is being compiled by the University Library of the Kerala University with the assistance of the Unesco.

### Institute of Foreign Languages

The Government of India has set up in Delhi an Institute of Foreign Languages aimed at imparting training in non-Indian languages.

### Conference on Dictionary Making

A National Conference on Dictionary Making was held under the auspices of the Central Institute of Languages, Mysore, from March 25 to 27, 1970.

### Seminar on Dialectology

A three-day Seminar on Dialectology was held at Patiala from September 4 to 6, 1970, under the auspices of the Linguistics Department of the Panjabi University. It was presided over by Prof. A. S. Haudri-court, Director, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

### PEN Conference

The Tenth P. E. N. All-India Writers Conference was held on December 26-29, 1969, at Patiala, under the presidentship of Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

### IASLIC Conference

The Eighth Conference of Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres was held at Bombay from the 27th to 31st October, 1969, under the auspices of the S.N.D.T. Women's University and was presided over by D. N. Marshall, Librarian of the University of Bombay.

### All-India Translators' Meet

The first All-India Translators' Conference, sponsored by the Translators' Society of India was held at the National Library, Calcutta, from Dec. 19 to 21, 1969, and was inaugurated by P. F. Caille, President, International Federation of Translators, Paris.

### Refresher Course in Indian Culture

The Central Ministry of Education and Youth Services intend to set up 8-week refresher courses in Indian Culture, covering literature, architecture, sculpture, painting, dance, music, theatre arts and handicrafts, at ten select centres, in the first instance. The scheme is expected to start functioning from 1971.

### Exhibition of Rare Books and Manuscripts

An Exhibition of the historic collection of the College of Fort William Library, founded in 1800, now preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, was opened at the India International Centre, New Delhi, on 26.3.1970.

### Archaeology for the Common Man

As part of the archaeological work done at the Old Fort, New Delhi, certain cuttings have been made revealing the layers of different cultures from the 1st cent. B.C. to the 13th cent. A.D., with seating arrangements in a gallery opposite the cuttings so that the archaeological processes could be demonstrated *in situ* to the visitors.

### Antiquities Bill

A comprehensive bill to control the sale and export of antiques, documents, manuscripts and paintings has been circulated by the Central Government to the State Governments.

### Microlithic grave in the Gangetic Basin

Excavations conducted by the U.P. Archaeological Department at Nahar Rai village in Dt. Pratapgarh have revealed fossilised skeletons and other remains of a hitherto unknown civilization of the microlithic period.

### New Asoka Pillar

The remnants of an Asoka Pillar of the Mauryan period have been unearthed in the Kankarbagh, Patna.

### Indraprastha finds

Excavations conducted by the Central Archaeological Survey of India, under the direction of Shri B.K. Thapar, Director (Explorations), at the Purana Quila area in Delhi, which is identified with the capital of the Pāṇḍavas of the *Mahābhārata*, have revealed structures ascribable to the Sunga and Kushana periods (2nd cent. B.C. to A.D. 3rd cent.) and Northern Black Polished Ware, which could be dated to 500 B.C.

### Excavations at Kaseri

Excavations conducted, during the winter of 1969-70, under the auspices of the History Department of the Delhi University and directed by Dr. Romila Thapar, Head of the said department, and Shri K.N. Dikshit of the National Museum, New Delhi, at Kaseri, near Delhi, on the banks of the Hindion river, have revealed finds belonging to different cultures, the earliest dating back to 1500 B.C.

### Seminar on Archaeology

A Seminar on Archaeology and Epigraphy was organised at Madurai from the 18th to the 24th January, 1970, under the auspices of the Tamilnad Deptt. of Archaeology and the Madurai University.

### Excavations at Sonkh

Excavations sponsored by the German Research Society and the Prussian Cultural Trust, and conducted by Dr. Haertel, Director of the Berlin Museum of Art, during the winter of 1969-70, at Sonkh, near Mathura, about 130 km. from Delhi, have revealed valuable finds belonging to the Kushana period (1st to 3rd

century A.D.) of Indian history. These finds include the remains of seven structures, including a Kushana temple, several terracotta plaques, a bronze piece and a jar containing 120 Kushana coins.

### **Bagore Finds**

Archaeological excavations carried out under the joint auspices of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, and the Poona University at three different mounds of Mahasati, Bagada and Mawla in Bagore, 40 km. from Bhilwara (Rajasthan), have brought to light the remains of a civilization belonging to 4000 B. C.

### **Harappan finds in Chandigarh**

Recent excavations in Chandigarh have brought out human skeletons and other objects of the Harappan age, indicating the spread of Harappan civilization to that region.

### **Asokan Inscription in Afghanistan**

A French archaeologist, Dr. Andre Dupont-Sommer, has discovered (1970), in Afghanistan a new inscription of Asoka in Aramic or Kharoshthi script, dated in the 10th year of Asoka's reign (c. B.C. 200).

### **Buddhist Stūpa unearthed**

The remains of one of the largest Buddhist stūpas (63.36 metres in diameter), much larger than those at Bharhut and Sanchi, dated before Christ, have been unearthed at Chanda Kapur, near Nagpur.

### **Gupta shrines unearthed**

Archaeology students of the Benaras Hindu University have dug out, at the Bhitari village (Dt. Ghazipur, U.P.), the remains of a Gupta temple with an inscribed sandstone column installed with a Sanskrit hymn.

### **Kushana and Gupta Antiquities in Lucknow**

Well preserved and ornamented terracotta and other antiques of the Kushana and Gupta periods were discovered at excavations conducted by the U.P. Archaeological Department, at Manwan Dih, in Dt. Sitapur.

### **Ancient Chera Kingdom**

Excavations conducted by the Central Archaeological Survey of India and the Archaeological Deptt. of the Kerala State at

Trikkanamtilakam (Cranganore), the ancient Chera capital, in Kerala have revealed much interesting information about the Chera kingdom from about the 8th century A.D.

### Rock Paintings at Bhopal

Paintings of great archaeological importance and remnants of chalcolithic civilization have been discovered by a team of scholars led by Dr. K. D. Bajpai and Prof. B. K. Singh at the Dharmapuri Shyamala Hills around the Bhopal Lake on the outskirts of the Bhopal City.

### Chola Murals Discovered

A large number of Chola mural paintings, about 1000 years old, which had been superimposed by later Nayak paintings, have been discovered by the Archaeological Society of India, around the base of the first floor of the sanctum sanctorum of the Great (Bṛhadiśvara) Temple in Tanjore (Tamilnad).

### Murals in Jammu

The Central Department of Archaeology is undertaking a survey of the rare murals found in different places in the Jammu region, including those at Ramnagar, Reasi and Purmandal.

### Shanti Stupa at Dhaulagiri, Orissa

The Japanese monk, H. H. N. Fouji, President of the Japanese Buddhist Sangha, is taking steps to build a Shanti Stupa at Dhaulagiri, 12 kms. east of Bhubaneshwar, where Emperor Asoka renounced violence.

### New Buddhist Shrines at Sarnath

The Government of Thailand has taken steps to build a new temple of the Buddha at Sarnath on a 10-acre plot acquired for the purpose.

### Buddhist Pilgrim Centres

A Rs. 65-lakh plan has been approved by the Government of India to develop nine places of Buddhist religious and cultural importance. These include Lumbini, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Kushinagar, Sravasti, Sankasya, Rajgir, Vaisali and Nalanda.

### Renovation of Indian temples

After completing the renovation work of the temples at Srirangam and Rameswaram, the Unesco has taken up similar work on the

temple of Varadaraja at Kanchipuram, for which \$ 12,000 have been allocated. The Unesco has further promised assistance for the renovation of ten more temples in South India in the next ten years.

#### Indian aid to U. A. R. Monuments

The Government of India has extended help by way of equipment and expertise worth Rs. 3 lakhs to the United Arab Republic to save the ancient monuments at Philae (Egypt).

#### Museum Committee

A new Museum Committee has been set up by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. The Committee had its first meeting on April 2, 1970, to discuss problems which required immediate attention in the Indian museums.

#### Rāma Gupta

The authenticity of the hitherto hypothesised Gupta emperor Rāma Gupta, brother of Chandra Gupta, has been established by the discovery, in Vidisa (M.P.), of two Jain stone images bearing inscriptions reading *Mahārājādhīrāja Rāma Gupta*, which were deciphered by Dr. G. S. Gai, Epigraphist for the Government of India, Mysore.

#### Babar Memoirs

The Uzbek Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. has brought out a 16th century album of miniature paintings, illustrating the *Bābar-Nāmā* by the first Mughal emperor (1483-1530), on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of Samarkand.

#### Indian Art in the U. S.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, which has one of the richest collections of Indian art in the United States threw open its new Oriental galleries to the public in June 1970.

#### Virginia Art Museum

The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts acquired recently a large number of Indian art objects and has become one of the half a dozen chief centres of Indian art collections in the U.S.

#### Museums Conference

A three-day All-India Museums Conference was held from March 6 to 8, 1970, at the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

#### Bharat Kala Bhavan

The week-long Golden Jubilee of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, attached to the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, commenced on

March 8, 1970 and was inaugurated by Dr. Grace Morley, former Director of the National Museum, New Delhi.

### **Indian History Congress**

The 31st Session of the Indian History Congress was held at Varanasi from December 28, 1969, under the auspices of the Banaras Hindu University and was presided over by Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, Retired Professor of History, Calcutta University.

### **Rajasthan History Congress**

The third Session of the Rajasthan History Congress was held on December 5 and 6, 1969, at Udaipur, under the auspices of the Sahitya Samsthan, Rajasthan University. Dr. Dasharath Sharma presided over the Congress.

### **Golden Jubilee of the Karnatak Research Society**

The Golden Jubilee celebrations of Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, was inaugurated on June 30, 1970 by the Governor of Mysore. An Exhibition of Art and Archaeology of Karnatak had also been arranged on the occasion.

### **M. P. History Conference**

The Madhya Pradesh History Conference was inaugurated at Bhopal on January 25, 1970, by Prof. Dr. A. L. Basham of the Australian National University, Canberra.

### **History Seminar**

A Kerala History Seminar organised under the auspices of the Kerala History Association was inaugurated at Ernakulam by Shri N. V. Krishna Warrier, Director, Kerala State Language Department.

### **Guru Nanak Seminar**

A Guru Nanak Seminar was convened at Delhi on December 9, 1969 and was inaugurated by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Central Minister of Education.

### **Sahitya Akademi Seminar on Nanak**

The Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, convened at Ludhiana, on the 14th and 15th February, 1970, a Seminar on (1) The Panjab of Guru Nanak and (2) The Poetry of Guru Nanak and its impact, in connection with the quincentenary of the saint.

### Exhibition on Indian Freedom Movement

A week-long exhibition of manuscripts and books dealing with India's Freedom Movement, collected by Dr. Bimla Prasad of the Indian school of International Studies, was held at the Gandhi Memorial Museum, New Delhi, from 16.1.1970.

### Round Table on Archives

The 11th Round Table on Archives was held in Bucharest, Rumania, from 23 to 27 September, 1969.

### Conference on Documentation

The 35th Conference of the Federation of International Documentation and International Congress of Documentation was held in Buenos Aires (South America) from 14 to 24, September 1970, the main Subject of discussion being 'Documentation from the point of view of the users'. The Argentine National Council for Scientific and Technical Research played host to the Congress.

### Unesco Committe on Documentation

The Second Session of the International Advisory Committee on Documentation, Libraries and Archives of the Unesco was held at the Unesco House, Paris, from August 19 to 22, 1969.

### Course in Documentation

A comprehensive three-month Regional Training Course in Documentation organised by the Unesco, was held in Kampala (Uganda), from September 1 to November 30, 1969, under the Directorship of Prof. Cordes Koch-Mehrin.

### Vivekananda Rock Memorial

Shri V.V. Giri, President of India, inaugurated the Vivekananda Rock Memorial, built at a cost of Rs. 90 lakhs, off the cape of Kanyakumari, at the land's end in India, on September 2, 1970.

### School of World Civilization

It is proposed to develop the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, into an international university called School of World Civilization.

### World Religions Conference

The Fourth World Religions Conference, convened by Muni Susil Kumar, was held at New Delhi from February 6 to 9, 1970.

### Seminar on Tradition and Change

An 8-day Seminar on Historical models in the study of Tradition and Change in India was held from 19 to 26 October, 1969, under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

### Buddhist Conference

An International Conference of Buddhist monks was inaugurated at Bodhgaya (Bihar) on July 5, 1970, by Shri Daroga Prasad Rai, Chief Minister of Bihar.

### Birthplace of Buddha

Shri Chakradhar Mohapatra of the Encyclopaedia Department of the Utkal University, Cuttack, has advanced arguments to show that the birthplace of the Buddha is not the Kapilavastu in Nepal but that it is Kapilesvara in Orissa.

### Summer Camp on Yoga

A month-long Summer Camp Certificate Course in Yoga was held at the Kaivalyadham Institute, Lonavla (Dt. Poona), from May 5, 1970, with the help of the Central Ministry of Education. This camp is expected to be held annually at the Institute.

### Exhibition of Folk art

An Exhibition of Folk and Tribal Images of India, was organised at the Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, by the Central Lalit Kala Akademi and was inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India on April 7, 1970.

### Performing Arts

The Ninth International Congress of the Museums and Libraries of Performing Arts was held in Genoa (Italy) from 5 to 10, April, 1970.

### Stipends for Artistes

Twenty-five young artistes specialising in different cultural fields like Sculpture, Painting, Music and Drama, have been awarded stipends of Rs. 250/- p.m. for 1969-70 by the Central Government.

### Asian Writers' Conference

The Third Asian Writers' Conference was held in Taipei (Republic of China) from 15 to 19, June 1970, the theme of the Conference being 'Problems facing Asian writers today'.

### Writers' Camp

The Writer's Camp organised by the National Book Trust, India, was inaugurated at Mysore by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Central Education Minister, on May 30, 1970.

### P.E.N. International

The 37th International Congress of the P.E.N. was held at Seoul (Korea) from June 28 to July 4, 1970.

### International Book Fair

An International Book Fair was held from March 14 to 22, 1970, at Brussels, (Belgium), as organised by the Belgium Publishers' Association (111, Avenue du Parc, Brussels-6).

### International Book Biennial

The First International Book Biennial, being a conference of world publishers, was held from August 15 to 30, 1970, at the Armando Arruda Pereira Exhibition Hall in Sao Paulo (Brazil).

### Federation of Library Associations

The 35th Session of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) was held at Copenhagen (Denmark) from 24 to 30, August 1969. The Session was presided over by Mr. Herman Liebaers, Director of the Belgian Royal Library, Brussels, and was attended by 540 librarians and documentalists from all over the world.

### National Book Trust Exhibition

A week-long Exhibition of books was organised by the National Book Trust, India, at Chandigarh from September 2, 1970.

### Training in Book Industry

A 11-day Training Course in Book Sales was inaugurated on August 17, 1970, by Shri M.N. Rao, President of the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Association of India at the Indian International Centre, New Delhi. The course was organised with the assistance of the Unesco.

### Institute of Medical History

An Institute of the History of Medicine and Medical Research, with an extensive medical museum and library, was inaugurated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, near Tughlakabad Fort, Delhi, on February 14, 1970.

## INDOLOGY ABROAD

**Russian Oriental Institute**

The 150th anniversary of the Asiatic Museum (established in 1818), now known as the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, was celebrated at a two-day conference at Moscow on August 24-25, 1970.

**Indianistic Studies at Oxford**

The South Asian Studies Inter-faculty Liason Committee of the Oxford University has introduced the study of Hindi, Bengali and Punjabi in the University from 1970.

**India Office Library**

The Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee, U.K., has made a substantial grant to the India Office Library, London, to set up, in the Library, a Gandhi Reference Section.

**Gandhi Library in Thailand**

An extensive Gandhi Memorial Library has been set up in Bangkok (Thailand) in connection with the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations.

**Gandhian Studies in Thailand**

As part of the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations in Thailand, a Gandhi Memorial Room was inaugurated on 12.2.1970 in the Soi Pranang Municipal Library. A Thai translation by Karuna Kausalya of Mahatma Gandhi's work *My experiments with Truth* has also been prescribed as a compulsory textbook in schools and colleges in that country.

**Indian Studies in Mauritius**

The Government of Mauritius has set up, at Port Louis, a full-fledged Centre of Indian Studies.

**British Orientalists**

The 19th Conference of the Association of British Orientalists was held at the University of Bristol, from 30th March to 2nd April, 1969.

**Tradition in India**

A Study Conference on Tradition in Indian Politics and Society was held in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, from 1st to 3rd July, 1969.

### Asian Exhibition

The Peruvian Institute of Islamic Studies Lima (S. America) arranged for a *Primera Exposicion Bibliografica Internacional Sobre Estudios del Asia Oriental* at the Institute premises in July 1970.

### COMING EVENTS

*A World Sanskrit Conference* at New Delhi, in the winter 1971, as announced by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Central Minister of Education, Government of India.

The First Seminar of the International Association of Orientalist Librarians at Canberra (Australia), from 6 to 12, January, 1971, on the occasion of the 28th International Congress of Orientalists.

The 14th Session of the *Bharatiya Hindi Parishad* on October 23-25, 1970, under the auspices of the Poona University.

The 4th International Seminar of Tamil Studies in Colombo (Ceylon) in 1972.

The 7th International Congress on Archives at Moscow, in 1972.

The 41st Session of the *Indian Historical Records Commission* at Trivandrum (Kerala) from 3 to 6, November, 1970, when an Exhibition of Historical Documents will also be held.

The 59th annual Conference of the *Numismatic Society of India*, at the Nagpur University in the second week of November, 1970, under the presidentship of T. V. Mahalingam, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

The 15th International Book Fair, Belgrade (Yugoslavia) from 22nd to 28th October, 1970, to coincide with the Sixth International Exhibition of Slavic Publications.

An International Book Fair in Singapore (47, The Arcade, Raffles Place), from 2nd to 7th April, 1971.

A World Book Fair under the auspices of the National Book Trust, India, at New Delhi, in January 1972.

The 67th Annual Celebration of the V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, towards the beginning of November, 1970.

**They are no more !**

13. 4. 1969 : Dr. W. Schubring, scholar in Prakrit and Jainism, with special reference to the Ardha-Māgadhi canon, at Hamburg at the age of 81.

8. 12. 1969 : Shri B.H. Palashikar, Marathi scholar and poet of Jalgaon (Khandesh), at the age of 67.

13.12.1969 : Shri N. G. Kamatnurkar, writer and dramatist in Marathi, at Miraj (Maharashtra), at the age of 73.

22.12.1969 : Prof. Thomas Welbourne Clark, Professor of Bengali, University of London, and author of books on Bengali and Nepali, in London, at the age of 65.

24.12.1969 : Shri 'Jayabhikkhu' (Balabhai Desai), Gujarati writer, at Ahmedabad, at the age of 61.

15. 1. 1970 : Shri P. Ramachandra Rao, Telugu writer and author of nearly hundred books, at Guntur, at the age of 74.

20. 1. 1970 : Shri Anasuya Prasad Pathak, writer in Hindi and Oriya, at Cuttack, at the age of 62.

25. 1. 1970 : Dr. Sadashiv Lal Katre, former Curator of the Scindia Oriental Research Institute and of the Manuscripts Department of the Nagpur University, at the age of 66.

2. 2. 1970 : Prof. Bertrand Russel, scholar, mathematician and philosopher of international repute and a great friend of India, at Port Madoc (North Wales), at the age of 97.

6. 2. 1970 : Prof. Karimkulam C. Narayana Pillai, writer and critic in Malayalam, at Trivandrum (Kerala).

11. 2. 1970 : Pt. Anant Shastri Phadke, Sanskrit scholar and editor of a large number of Sanskrit texts and former Professor in the Benaras Sanskrit College, at Varanasi.

24. 2. 1970 : Shri K. N. Gopalan Nair, author, translator and lexicographer in Malayalam, at Kottayam (Kerala), at the age of 61.

27.2.1970 : Vatakumkur Rajaraja Varma, Sanskrit Scholar and author of over fifty books in Malayalam, including a 6-volume *History of Sanskrit literature in Kerala*, at Vaikkam (Kerala), at the age of 78.

18.3.1970 : Shri Makhan Bhai Patel, Gujarati poet and scholar in Hindi, Persian, Urdu and English, at Baroda, at the age of 60.

3.4.1970 : Shri Nathu Ram Khadgawat, historian of Rajasthan and Director, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner, at Jaipur, at the age of 50.

4.4.1970 : Shri K. Bharata Iyer, Sanskrit scholar and art-critic of Kerala, at Bombay, at the age of 67.

11.4.1970 : Dr. Sukumar Dutt, scholar and author of books on Buddhism and English literature, at New Delhi, at the age of 79.

6.5.1970 : Shri T.G. Aravamudan, writer on iconography, archaeology and Indian culture, at Madras, at the age of 81.

17.5.1970 : Acharya Rishi Ram, world-wide propagator of ancient Indian religion and culture and former Principal of the Dayanand Brahma Mahavidyalaya (Lahore) and head of the Universal Cultural Congregation (*Vishva Satsang*) of the V.V.R. Institute (Hoshiarpur), at New Delhi, at the age of 77.

24.5.1970 : Shri Bisheshvar Prashad Munnawar Lucknavi, Urdu poet and linguist, at New Delhi, at the age of 73.

30.5.1970 : Acharya Vijaya Udaya Suri, scholar in Jain religion and philosophy and head of the Svetambar sect of Jains, at Bhavanagar.

7.7.1970 : Dr. (Mrs.) Iravati Karve, anthropologist and writer of Maharashtra, at Poona, at the age of 65.

4.8.1970 : Shri Huruli Bheema Rao, Kannada writer of South Canara, at Mangalore, at the age of 83.

8.8.1970 : Prof. K. Chandrasan, Hindi scholar and former Director of the Central Hindi Directorate, at New Delhi, at the age of 61.

24. 8. 1970 : Shri Jayanti Dalal, litterateur of Gujarat, at Ahmedabad, at the age of 61.

29. 8. 1970 : Dr. Dolar Rai Mankand, scholar in Sanskrit and ancient Indian history, and Vice-Chancellor of the Saurashtra University, at Aliabada (Gujarat), at the age of 68.

30. 8. 1970 : Sir S. Varadachari, scholar and patron of Sanskrit and Tamil, President of the Madras Sanskrit Academy and former Chief Justice of India, at Madras, at the age of 89.

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